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ANGLO-ROMAN RELATIONS

1558-1565



# ANGLO-ROMAN RELATIONS

1558-1565

BY  
C. G. BAYNE

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## PREFACE

I HAVE attempted in this book to give a connected account of a subject which has hitherto received only passing attention from historians, namely, the relations of England with Rome during the first seven years of Queen Elizabeth's reign. Isolated incidents, such as the alleged refusal of Paul IV to recognize Elizabeth as queen (1558), the missions of Parpaglia (1560) and Martinengo (1561), and the proposal to excommunicate her at the council of Trent (1563), are well known, but their full history has not yet been told, while the efforts which were made between 1561 and 1565 by Rome and its adherents to recover England to the Roman allegiance have been passed over in almost complete silence. The negotiations of the English government between 1560 and 1562 with France and the German protestants, on the subject of the representation of England at the council of Trent, have met with similar neglect. Finally, the action of the council on the questions affecting England which came before it—the lawfulness of attendance at the English church service, the excommunication of Elizabeth, and the persecution of English catholics—have been treated with less fullness than their interest deserves.

In this monograph an attempt is made to deal exhaustively with the subject in a continuous narrative which traces the connexion between the various occurrences and investigates the action of the powers concerned. The materials used have been derived from original sources, principally the correspondence of the king of Spain with his ambassadors at Rome, and the transcripts of Vatican manuscripts which are

## PREFACE

preserved at the Record Office. Unpublished state papers in the British Museum, and a few more of which I procured copies from Paris, Vienna, and Brussels, have furnished further information. Those of my sources which, so far as I can discover, are new to historians are printed in the appendix. It has been my aim to include nothing which has been published before, but in a few cases I have printed extracts from rare books, and have reproduced documents of which I am able to give a more perfect copy than previous editors. The spelling and punctuation of the originals have been retained, common contractions have been extended, and doubtful ones have been given as they stand with the extensions following. Whatever judgement may be passed on the book, I think that the appendixes will be found of value by students.

I wish to express my acknowledgements to the various persons who have given me assistance: to Miss Bayne and the Rev. R. Bayne for help and advice on various points; to Mr. A. Jackson, British Consul at Madrid, for placing me in communication with the authorities at Simancas; to Señors Don Juan Montero and Don Julian Paz for furnishing me with copies of documents preserved there; and to Fräulein Gerwien, Professor von Arnim, Hofrat Árpád von Károlyi, M. Cuvelier, M. Couderc, and M. Dupond for similar assistance at Vienna, Brussels, and Paris. I have also to thank Monsignor Parkinson for permitting me to consult and publish extracts from a manuscript at Oscott College. I wish to record my indebtedness to Professor Šusta's admirable work, *Die römische Curie*, and to thank him for answering a question which I asked him regarding it.

C. G. BAYNE.

May, 1913.

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## CHAPTER I

### QUEEN ELIZABETH AND PAUL IV

WHEN Queen Elizabeth came to the English throne on November 17, 1558, England was in full communion with Rome, the pope was acknowledged as head of the church, and the doctrines and rites of Roman catholicism were universally enforced. The first acts of her reign showed that the queen contemplated change, but that she intended to proceed with caution. No alteration was permitted in the public services of religion, which were conducted at court and elsewhere with full Roman ritual.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, the appointment of Sir William Cecil, a leader among the reformers, to be secretary of state, and the exclusion from her counsels of Mary's principal advisers, all strong catholics, gave no uncertain sign of the direction to which Elizabeth inclined. Her object was to surround herself with congenial advisers, but to stop short at overt acts against the established order until she saw her way clearly.

One of the questions which forced itself upon her from the first was the attitude to be assumed towards the pope. If she had followed precedent she would have announced her accession to him without delay by a formal mission, such as she sent to other foreign powers. A paper of Cecil's notes, dated November 17,

<sup>1</sup> *Venetian Cal.*, vi, No. 1287, p. 1559. Zürich letters, first series, 10, 5.

the first day of her reign, contains the entry 'to send special messengers to the pope, emperor / kinges of Spain / Denmark / to Venise.'<sup>2</sup> A memorandum of the following day, which presumably contains Elizabeth's orders on the notes of the seventeenth, records that embassies are to be sent to other foreign powers, but omits the pope.<sup>3</sup> Evidently she had decided against a mission to him or had left the question of approaching him in suspense. A few days later the matter came before the government in another way. In Mary's reign a certain Richard Chetwode eloped with a wealthy heiress named Agnes Woodhall, a girl of fourteen. They were arrested in December 1556, probably on their way abroad,<sup>4</sup> and the marriage was annulled by the ecclesiastical court. The lovers appealed to Rome, where the case was pending when Elizabeth came to the throne.<sup>5</sup> On December 1 the privy council resolved to send a letter to Sir Edward Carne, Queen Mary's ambassador at Rome, forbidding him to interfere in the appeal.<sup>6</sup> The order recited that Carne 'was heretofore placed there as a publyck person by reason of his Ambassade'. This language was ambiguous. Carne was not reappointed as Elizabeth's ambassador, but by forbidding him to exercise his functions in a particular case the council implied that he still possessed them.

The hesitation which the order disclosed continued through December. On the twentieth of that month

<sup>2</sup> *State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth*, i, No. 2. Cf. Maitland, *Collected Papers*, iii. 165.

<sup>3</sup> *S. P. Dom.*, i, No. 3.

<sup>4</sup> *Acts of the Privy Council*, vi. 29.

<sup>5</sup> Statute 1 Eliz. cap. 1, *ad fin.*

<sup>6</sup> *Acts of the Privy Council*, vii. 11.

instructions were sent to Carne of which the origin may be traced to a paper of advice written by Richard Goodrich, a leading lawyer and strong advocate of reform.<sup>7</sup> Goodrich, though eager for a protestant restoration, dreaded the power of the pope and feared lest disaster should follow from attempting even to limit his jurisdiction. He therefore counselled extreme caution. Nothing was to be done in anticipation of a parliament. When it met it would repeal the persecuting statutes which Mary had revived, but it would not otherwise meddle with religion or the pope. Carne was to be kept at Rome as a sort of unofficial agent, furnishing news but seeking no audience; if the pope sent for him and asked the intentions of the English government he would reply that a 'great embassage' had started, or was about to start, for Rome. In order to make the farce complete Goodrich proposed to publish the names of those who were to compose this phantom mission and to pretend to delay their departure till over the summer. While the pope remained quiescent in expectation of the embassy the question of religion would be maturely considered and action taken accordingly. When all was settled, but not before, an ambassador would be sent to Rome. The object of these proposals was to beguile the pope into leaving England alone until a reformation had

<sup>7</sup> Maitland, loc. cit. The paper is printed by Dixon, *History*, v. 26, and Dr. Gee, *Elizabethan Prayer Book*, 202. It bears no date but it was probably written before December 5, the date on which writs were issued summoning a parliament for January 23, because it talks of the parliament meeting 'before or in March next'. Evidently when Goodrich wrote it he did not know that parliament was to meet on January 23.

been effected, and then to confront him with a *fait accompli*. Goodrich's plan seems to have found favour with Elizabeth, who loved underhand intrigue, for on December 20 Carne was ordered to remain at Rome on behalf of the English government and to inform the pope that a mission was about to set out. Whether he was instructed to make any communication as to the objects of the mission is unknown. The order sent to Carne is not extant and nothing is known of it save the bare fact that Carne received it.<sup>8</sup>

The apprehensions which Goodrich felt of papal interference were justified by the character of the occupant of the see of Peter. Paul IV, the reigning pope, was approaching the end of a stormy pontificate. His zeal for the reform of the church and the extirpation of heresy, after suffering eclipse during the middle period of his reign, had revived with redoubled force towards its close. At the time when Elizabeth came to the throne he had said good-bye to earthly ambition, and was concentrating all his energies on his duties as head of the church. He combined a most exalted opinion of the power and dignity of his office with an almost insane hatred of heresy. In his eyes the slightest divergence from orthodoxy was a crime for which there was no remedy but death.<sup>9</sup> A pope of such a character was not likely to look with favour on a queen whose orthodoxy was doubtful, and whose legitimacy had been denied by a papal sentence.

The irregularity of her birth seemed, indeed, likely to prove a serious factor in Elizabeth's relations with Rome. To all good catholics the daughter of Anne Boleyn,

<sup>8</sup> *Foreign Cal.*, 1558-9, Nos. 161, 333.

<sup>9</sup> Ribier, *Lettres*, ii. 815.

born to Henry VIII during the lifetime of Catharine of Aragon, was a bastard. English catholics, nevertheless, accepted her as queen on the strength of her parliamentary title.<sup>10</sup> But Frenchmen thought otherwise. Mary Queen of Scots, the wife of the dauphin, was the great-granddaughter of Henry VII by undoubted legitimate descent. If Elizabeth was illegitimate, the heir of Henry VIII, according to the ordinary law of inheritance, was Mary. As such, the French argued, she had an indefeasible right to the English crown, based on a fundamental law which was superior to all local dispositions and enactments.<sup>11</sup> At the time of Elizabeth's accession they were all the more ready to uphold the Scotch queen's claims because England and France were at war. At the end of November they were saying at Cercamp, where negotiations for peace had recently been in progress, that Elizabeth had no right to the throne, and that steps were being taken at Rome to disprove her title.<sup>12</sup> In February, during the conferences at Cateau-Cambrésis, the claim was renewed. When the Spanish commissioners pressed for the restoration of Calais the Frenchmen objected that they knew not to whom to deliver it. Mary was rightful queen of England. If they surrendered it to Elizabeth they would prejudice the right of the queen of Scots and the dauphin her husband.<sup>13</sup>

Besides using Mary's claim as a lever to extort

<sup>10</sup> Statute 35 Henry VIII (1543-4), cap. 1.

<sup>11</sup> *Venetian Cal.*, vi, No. 884, p. 1076. *Foreign Cal.*, 1558-9, No. 569, § 4; 1561-2, No. 113, § 3. De Thou, *Historiarum* (1733), i. 703. Forbes, *Transactions*, i. 293.

<sup>12</sup> *Foreign Cal.*, 1558-9, No. 82. Cf. Father Pollen in *The Month*, vol. 96 (1900), p. 396.

<sup>13</sup> *Foreign Cal.*, 1558-9, No. 373, § 5.

concessions from England the French government considered whether they should formally assert it. On December 2, in conversation with Michaele, the Venetian ambassador, the king declared that, if there was any right in the world, England ought to be hers. Michaele noticed, however, that Henry spoke without heat, and information derived from a trustworthy source led him to believe that France would do nothing to enforce Mary's title. If Elizabeth were content to yield Calais Henry would be silent about his daughter-in-law's pretensions; if she made a marriage which was acceptable to France he would go farther and induce Mary to withdraw them.<sup>14</sup> Accordingly Mary went into mourning for the late queen—since they were first cousins once removed she could do no less—but she did not publicly declare herself queen of England.<sup>15</sup> She asserted her pretensions by quartering the arms of England with those of Scotland,<sup>16</sup> and she occasionally styled herself queen of England in official documents.<sup>17</sup> These steps were probably taken as a precaution. Should a time come for making a formal claim her position would be stronger if she could show that she had never allowed it to lapse. Her action did not mean that immediate aggression was contemplated.

It is not surprising, however, that a contrary belief was current in Europe, or that men generally believed that France was attempting to press the pope into the Scotch queen's service. Within eight days of Eliza-

<sup>14</sup> *Venetian Cal.*, vi, No. 1290, p. 1564.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 1296, p. 1571.

<sup>16</sup> Teulet, *Relations politiques*, i. 390; ii. 44. Forbes, *Transactions*, i. 293.

<sup>17</sup> *Foreign Cal.*, 1558-9, Nos. 235, 346.

beth's accession de Feria, the Spanish ambassador in London, feared that Paul would embarrass her by questioning her title.<sup>18</sup> At the end of December Carne reported that Babou, the French ambassador, was labouring him to declare her illegitimate and Mary Stuart rightful queen,<sup>19</sup> while in London at the same time it was rumoured that he had already made up his mind to do so.<sup>20</sup> At the end of January there was talk of her deprivation at Venice<sup>21</sup> and Stuttgart.<sup>22</sup> In February Granvelle, bishop of Arras, repeated Carne's story to the English commissioners at Cateau-Cambrésis.<sup>23</sup> A similar account of French intrigue is given in a contemporary Roman narrative of the last year of Paul's pontificate.<sup>24</sup>

These widespread rumours show it to have been commonly believed that Paul would take some hostile step. His known fondness for violent measures made men look for them in his dealings with Elizabeth. But

<sup>18</sup> *Spanish Cal.*, 6.

<sup>19</sup> *Foreign Cal.*, 1558-9, No. 161.

<sup>20</sup> *Spanish Cal.*, 17.

<sup>21</sup> A. Desjardins, *Relations diplomatiques de la France et de la Toscane*, iii. 396.

<sup>22</sup> *Foreign Cal.*, 1558-9, No. 297, § 2.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 373, § 5.

<sup>24</sup> 'Francesi vista la morte della Regina d'Inghilterra, come cominciorono a raffredare le cose della pace, così cominciorno ad entrare in speranza d'alienar quello Regno d'Inghilterra dal Re Filippo, overo d'unirlo a quello di Scotia. Et tra l'altre cose facevano instanza appresso il Papa, che si diachiarasse spuria Isabella Regina, e come nata d'Incesto, et ex consequenti, che non potesse succedere nel Regno, con la quale esclusione pretendevano, che la Corona spettasse alla Regina di Scotia.' H. Laemmer, *Meleumatum*, 208. From a manuscript headed 'Memorabilia Pontificatus Paul IV, September 2, 1558—August 18, 1559' in Cod. Sessorian. cclxx. f. 98. An eighteenth-century copy of the MS. is in the British Museum (Add. MS., No. 20045, f. 10).

on this occasion the public expectation was disappointed. At the beginning of her reign he did not regard her with hostility. His dispute with Mary over the legation of Cardinal Peto and his animosity against Cardinal Pole possibly inclined him, incredible as it sounds, to look on her accession as a change for the better. However that may be, on the first recorded occasion on which he mentioned her name he referred to her without ill-will. In a conversation with Babou at the end of December he spoke of her in language which implied that he regarded her as queen and had no hostile intentions towards her.<sup>25</sup> This friendly disposition soon changed, as we shall see later, but there is no good ground for supposing that at any period of his pontificate he moved a finger in favour of Mary Stuart.

Nevertheless, the claims of the Scotch queen were a very real menace to Elizabeth, and the boldness with which they were asserted in the Netherlands creates the presumption that the French would put them forward at Rome also. If Carne may be believed they actually did so. In December, as has already been mentioned, he reported that the French ambassador was pressing Paul to declare Elizabeth illegitimate and Mary Stuart queen. On February 16 he wrote, 'the French heere can obteyne nothinge at his Holines Hands ageinst your Majestie.'<sup>26</sup> On April 3 he reported that they had obtained somewhat of their 'purpose', but in what particular he could not discover.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Ribier, *Lettres*, ii. 776. For Sarpi's exploded story of Paul's refusal to acknowledge Elizabeth, see Maitland, *Collected Papers*, iii. 165, and Father Pollen in *The Month*, vol. 96 (1900), p. 393.

<sup>26</sup> Haynes, *State Papers*, 245.

<sup>27</sup> *Foreign Cal.*, 1558-9, No. 492.

At first sight there seems no room for doubt that the French 'purposes' aimed at putting Mary in Elizabeth's place. But the facts are otherwise. The talk of Mary's rights at Cateau-Cambrésis was merely a diplomatic device for gaining better terms of peace. The French government had formed no plans for displacing Elizabeth by Mary; its aim was much less ambitious, no more than to prevent Philip of Spain from marrying her. This is established by the correspondence of the French ambassador at Rome. As soon as he learnt of the death of Mary Tudor, the king of France, anticipating that Philip would offer marriage to Elizabeth, prepared to defeat the project. In a long letter to Babou of December 10, 1558, he discussed the situation in England, the probabilities of a marriage, and the action to be taken to stop it. Since Philip, unless he abjured his religion, could not marry Elizabeth without a dispensation from the pope, it was essential to poison the mind of Paul against her. The letter, therefore, gave a highly-coloured account of her protestant proclivities, declaring that she still persisted in the heretical opinions which she held as a princess, and informing the ambassador that her first act on entering London had been to proclaim the fact to her subjects and to grant them free permission to believe as they pleased. With the help of this report Babou was instructed to induce Paul to refuse a dispensation for the marriage which Philip was supposed to contemplate. Let the pope consider, said Henry, what a stain he will cast on his reputation for sanctity if he grants a dispensation so prejudicial to the authority of the church and so contrary to all right and reason. If the holy canons forbid us to do the simplest human

service to heretics, how is it possible to countenance the union of a heretic with a catholic? The king then pointed out the necessity of gaining the pope's ear before the Spaniards approached him, and for this purpose he directed Babou to use the Theatines, a religious order having great influence with his holiness, who had been one of its original founders. Since Paul was by nature obstinate, Henry was confident that if he were skilfully managed, or, as the king coarsely put it, tickled where he itched, he could be so prejudiced against the match that nothing would move him to countenance it. To bring the pope to this frame of mind would be the task of the Theatines. Babou's hand was not to appear. Henry was anxious to avoid a quarrel with Elizabeth and he did not wish her to know that he was working against her at Rome.<sup>28</sup> Before receiving these orders Babou had already, on Christmas Day, discussed Elizabeth's marriage prospects with the pope. On that occasion Paul, without promising to refuse a dispensation for a match with Philip, had declared that he would do nothing unworthy of his high office.<sup>29</sup> On January 7, in answer to Henry's letter, the ambassador wrote that if Elizabeth remained a protestant a dispensation would certainly be refused and that even if she changed her opinions she would probably find Paul still obdurate.<sup>30</sup> He went on to protest against rumours which he reported as current in Rome, that he had tried to persuade the pope to declare her illegitimate. It is thus clear that up till January 7 he had not raised the question. Nor is it conceivable that he did so

<sup>28</sup> Appendix 1. Cf. *The Chronicle*, p. 614, September 21, 1867, and de Ruble, *Le Traité de Cateau-Cambrésis*, 331.

<sup>29</sup> Ribier, *Lettres*, ii. 776.

<sup>30</sup> Appendix 2.

later. In none of his subsequent letters, of which several have survived, does he breathe a hint of the subject.<sup>31</sup> Carne's assertions must be rejected as unfounded rumours. Their origin may, perhaps, be traced to Parpaglia, abbot of San Solutore, of whom we shall hear more in the next chapter. In his letter of January 7 Babou mentioned that a report imputing sinister designs to French diplomacy was then circulating in Rome. According to this report, which came from Flanders in a letter of the abbot, Elizabeth had been told that the French were pressing the pope to declare her a bastard.<sup>32</sup> It is not an improbable conjecture that Parpaglia's gossip was the basis of Carne's information. In any case, it is certain that France made no attempt to induce Paul to declare Elizabeth illegitimate.<sup>33</sup>

We now return to England. On December 20 Carne had been ordered to announce the forthcoming dispatch of an embassy to Rome. Five days later Elizabeth took her first public step, a very startling one, on the path of reform. On Christmas Day she forbade Bishop Oglethorpe, who was about to celebrate mass in her chapel, to elevate the Host. This striking demonstration showed that she had advanced beyond the timid counsels of Goodrich and wished it to be known that she rejected the Roman doctrine of the mass. Two days later a proclamation was published

<sup>31</sup> MS. No. 3102 of the Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, contains letters from Babou of February 2, 10, 25, March 4, 22, April 1, 15, May 10.

<sup>32</sup> Appendix 2. Cf. *The Chronicle*, loc. cit.

<sup>33</sup> The statement made in Cecil's memoranda of August, 1559 (*Foreign Cal.*, 1558-9, No. 1300, § 13), that a bull against Elizabeth was sent into France, must be rejected as a fiction. Cf. Father Pollen in *The Month*, vol. 96 (1900), p. 401.

authorizing certain innovations in public worship and announcing the intention of dealing with religion in parliament. News of these unwelcome pronouncements had possibly reached Rome on January 22,<sup>34</sup> for on that day Paul referred to England in terms which showed that he was aware of the course that affairs were taking. In a conversation with Babou he deplored the lamentable condition of England and the peril to which English souls were exposed. He made no reference to Elizabeth, but turned aside, oddly enough, to his quarrel with Cardinal Pole. If Pole were alive, so he said, he would proceed against him for the crime of heresy.<sup>35</sup> Meanwhile the intentions of the English government were becoming plainer. On January 15 Elizabeth made her coronation the opportunity for another demonstration against the mass. On January 25 the parliament met and the commons at once began to question the validity of the writs of summons because the title 'supreme head of the church' had been omitted from the queen's style. The predominance of reformers being thus apparent the government took another step forward. The pretence of sending a mission to the pope was silently abandoned, and on February 4 Carne was recalled on the ground that there was no further reason for him to remain at Rome.<sup>36</sup> Finally, on February 9, a bill was

<sup>34</sup> The news of Mary's death (November 17) reached Rome on December 12. Ribier, *Lettres*, ii. 774.

<sup>35</sup> Appendix 3.

<sup>36</sup> *Acts of the Privy Council*, vii. 50. *Foreign Cal.*, 1558-9, No. 474. He was also paid his 'diets', which Mary had suffered to fall into arrear. In a statement of 'money passed by warrant' in the first three and a half months of Elizabeth's reign a sum of £170 10s. 8d. is shown as paid to him. *S. P. Dom., Eliz.*, iii, No. 7.

introduced reannexing the supremacy of the church to the crown.

News of these ominous proceedings reached Rome by degrees. On February 16, notwithstanding his remarks of January 22, Paul was still favourably disposed to Elizabeth, resolved to take no steps against her unless she provoked him and contemplating the dispatch of a nuncio as soon as she sent the mission promised by Carne in December.<sup>37</sup> A month later his sentiments had changed. He was 'sore moved' at events in England and described the queen as 'being revolted from his obedience and this see, as he was informed'.<sup>38</sup> By this time he had evidently learnt the antipapal temper of the English commons. Nevertheless, it is doubtful whether he had yet begun to concern himself seriously with English affairs. The instructions of the bishop of Chiusi, who was nominated nuncio to Philip in April 1559, contain no reference to them beyond the passing remark that England was an example of the ruin wrought by heresy.<sup>39</sup>

At this point the information which we have hitherto obtained from Carne's dispatches fails us. Our future knowledge of England's relations with Paul IV is derived from the correspondence of Philip of Spain which is preserved at Simancas. Before saying good-bye to Carne we may notice briefly his further fortunes at Rome. In December 1558, as soon as he knew of Elizabeth's accession, he had asked for leave to return home,<sup>40</sup> and when he received the order of recall of

<sup>37</sup> *Foreign Cal.*, 1558-9, No. 331.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 474.

<sup>39</sup> Laemmer, *Meleumatum*, 174. Hinojosa, *Despachos*, 104.

<sup>40</sup> *Foreign Cal.*, 1558-9, No. 162.

February he prepared at once to depart. On April 1 he reported to the queen that the pope had refused to let him go, on pain of excommunication and other penalties, alleging as a reason that England had revolted from the allegiance of the holy see. Why Carne should be forced to stay at Rome because England was guilty of schism was not clear. Carne complained bitterly of the tyranny of keeping a poor old man prisoner for no fault of his own.<sup>41</sup> His lamentations were, however, fictitious, and his detention was a comedy in which Paul played a benevolent part. The real reason of the pope's action is disclosed in the correspondence of Philip with Vargas, his ambassador at Rome. In 1560 Elizabeth's ambassadors in Spain, Montagu and Chamberlain, complained to Philip of the treatment which Carne had received and asked the king to persuade the pope to let the old man return home.<sup>42</sup> Philip wrote to Vargas, who sent for Carne and then learnt that, while posing as a victim, he was really the author of his own detention. Fearing that if he returned to England he would have to choose between losing his head and abjuring his religion he had resolved, so he said, to remain in Rome. If he had refused point blank to go back his property in England would have been confiscated and his wife and children left to starve. In order to protect them he had persuaded Paul to forbid him to leave Rome and Pius IV had maintained the prohibition.<sup>43</sup> The order of Paul, so far from being a piece of tyranny, was an act of pure benevolence.

<sup>41</sup> *Foreign Cal.*, 1558-9, No. 474.

<sup>42</sup> Philip to Vargas, June 8, 1560. *Simancas archives, Secretaria de Estado*, legajo 887, f. 132. Cf. *The Chronicle*, p. 38, April 6, 1567.

<sup>43</sup> Appendix 4.

Carne did not live long to enjoy it, for he died on January 19, 1561.

Before narrating the further course of Paul's relations with England it is necessary to notice the policy and attitude of Philip II, king of Spain, from whose correspondence our information is henceforth drawn. When Elizabeth came to the throne in November 1558 England had been for several years in a state of subordinate alliance with Spain, a mere Spanish pawn on the chessboard of European politics. It was Philip's hope that the accession of a new queen would make no change. He therefore bent all his efforts to securing a continuance of the old subservient relations. He congratulated Elizabeth on her accession with the utmost cordiality, he offered to marry her in January 1559, and when she refused he continued, undiscouraged, to assure her of his unchanging friendship. From an early period of her reign her attitude to religion placed him in a dilemma. As a bigoted catholic he regarded any divergence from Rome with horror, and if he had followed his natural inclination he would have withdrawn from alliance with a heretic. But whether England were protestant or catholic her friendship was equally necessary. As king of Spain and master of the Netherlands he shuddered at the idea of a breach with Elizabeth, lest England should become the prey of France, which never scrupled to make friends with infidels and heretics. In this conflict between his sentiments as a catholic and his interests as a king his interests were easily victorious. In his relations with Elizabeth he never carried disapproval of her religious changes to the point of hostility; his great aim was to protect her from the consequences

which he feared they would entail. First among these were the censures of the church. His own experience of papal enmity during the war with France led him to anticipate some violent explosion against Elizabeth. Accordingly, his correspondence is full of rumours of what the pope has done, and of fears of what he will do, to punish the rebellious queen. Since any such action would have endangered Spanish interests he spared no pains to mitigate Paul's anger, representing Elizabeth's conduct in the most favourable light and holding out hope of some fortunate turn of events which would lead her back to the Roman fold.

His correspondence with Rome on English affairs, so far as it is extant, began on April 24, 1559, when he sent the pope a report of the progress of religious change.<sup>44</sup> At this time the revolution was not yet complete. In March a supremacy bill had passed both houses of parliament declaring Elizabeth to be supreme head of the church. During the Easter vacation (March 24 to April 3) the queen had refused to accept the title. In his letter of April 24 Philip gives an account of this incident, exaggerates its importance, represents the situation as by no means desperate, and warns the pope against making any pronouncement or taking any steps in English affairs without consulting him. The letter ends with an eulogy of the English catholics who are described as numerous and steadfast. On the same day Canobio, the nuncio at Brussels, wrote that Philip was very perturbed lest Paul should make a declaration against Elizabeth in favour of the French king.<sup>45</sup> It was, no doubt, this apprehension

<sup>44</sup> Appendix 5.

<sup>45</sup> Canobio to the pope, Brussels, April 24, 1559 : 'Il qual (Philip)

that dictated Philip's letter.<sup>46</sup> On May 6 Paul wrote briefly to Philip on English affairs. He made no reference to Elizabeth nor to any contemplated action against her, but merely acknowledged the zeal with which the king had laboured to maintain the catholic religion in England, urged him to continue his efforts, and promised him every assistance that Rome could give. His tone was calm, and free from any trace of the indignation of which Carne spoke in April.<sup>47</sup>

The ink on this letter was hardly dry when the breach of England with Rome was completed. On May 8 Elizabeth gave her assent to the acts of supremacy and uniformity which renounced the Roman allegiance and restored the Prayer-book of Edward VI. It was to be expected that this victory of what he regarded as the most horrible wickedness would rouse Paul at last. In no direction could he more justly give rein to his severe and passionate nature than against the heretical queen who had renounced his authority and proscribed his religion. That he would at once take some violent course by which France would benefit was the great fear of Philip, whose zeal for religion was tempered now, as ever, by a prudent regard for his own interests. Accordingly between the 22nd and 27th May the Spanish king wrote four letters

teme grandemente che la Santità vostra non faccia qualche declarazione (et questo ho inteso d'assai buon luogo) contra la detta Regina d'Inghilterra a beneficio del Re di Francia'. *Record Office, Roman Transcripts*, vol. 69. From *Arch. Vat., Lettere de' Principi*, xi, f. 307.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. *Spanish Cal.*, 60.

<sup>47</sup> *Simancas archives, Secretaria de estado*, Legajo 884, f. 2. A copy is printed in Baronius (Raynaldus) *Annales*, xxxiv. 19, where the date is given incorrectly as May 4. The letter is a reply to another from Philip of April 18, which is not extant.

to Rome,<sup>48</sup> two to the pope, one to Pacheco, the leader of the Spanish party in the college of cardinals, and a fourth to Ascanio Caracciolo, who transacted the diplomatic business of Spain in the absence of an accredited ambassador.<sup>49</sup> In his letter to the pope he gave a short account of recent events, laying great stress on the strength of the catholic opposition. He pointed out, in particular, that the religious changes of Henry VIII's time had been accepted by the whole parliament, with the exception of More and Fisher, whereas now the abolition of the mass and the introduction of the English service had passed by only three votes.<sup>50</sup> In such hopeful circumstances he urged the pope to abstain from any proceedings against Elizabeth until the result of certain measures which he was taking became apparent. The nature of these measures is not stated, but the correspondence of the Spanish ambassador in England makes it clear that they were the negotiations then in progress for marrying Elizabeth to a son of the Emperor Ferdinand, negotiations on which good catholics built hopes of winning her back to Rome.<sup>51</sup> In his second letter (May 26) Philip requested Paul to give a hearing to Caracciolo, who had received special instructions on English affairs. The third letter, which conveyed

<sup>48</sup> Appendixes 6 to 9.

<sup>49</sup> Until the latter part of 1559 Philip had no ambassador at Rome, Paul having refused to receive Don John de Figueroa, who had been appointed in November, 1558. *Nouvelles archives des missions*, xviii. (1910), pp. 364, 366.

<sup>50</sup> The act of uniformity passed the house of lords on April 28 by three votes.

<sup>51</sup> *Spanish Cal.*, 60, 63, 65, 67, 70.

these instructions, directed Caracciolo to dissuade the pope by every means in his power from any proceedings against Elizabeth or the English until the result of Philip's efforts was known. When the proper time came, so Caracciolo was to say, Philip would inform Paul in order that if Elizabeth persisted in her rebellious course, she might be dealt with as the service of God and justice demanded. If his holiness insisted nevertheless on proceeding to extremities, Caracciolo was to pray him to except the many good and true catholics who were to be found in England from his sentence of excommunication.<sup>52</sup> The fourth letter, to Cardinal Pacheco, asked him to support the policy which Philip was pressing on the pope.<sup>53</sup>

At this point a hiatus occurs in the correspondence. Caracciolo's report of his mission is not extant, but it is evident from a letter of Philip of July 3,<sup>54</sup> that up till June no action had been taken at Rome to the detriment of Elizabeth. On July 16 Caracciolo sent a report of an interview which had taken place on the previous day, at which he gave the pope the latest news of English affairs.<sup>55</sup> Paul, as might have been expected, was greatly displeased at the course of events. He declared to Caracciolo that it was Philip's duty to make himself master of England without delay, and remarked that with the help of the Netherlands and the English catholics the task would be easy, especially as Elizabeth was a bastard and consequently not entitled to inherit her sister's kingdom. The king of France,

<sup>52</sup> Cf. *Spanish Cal.*, 68.

<sup>53</sup> This letter is not dated, but it was evidently written at the same time as the others.

<sup>54</sup> Appendix 10.

<sup>55</sup> Appendix 11.

he added, would look on unmoved if he were allowed to possess Scotland in peace. A letter of August 1 from Don Gonzalo Chacon, a nephew of Cardinal Pacheco,<sup>56</sup> whom Philip had sent to Rome to inquire after the pope's health, contains a further pronouncement on English affairs.<sup>57</sup> On this occasion the pope, after some extravagant laudation of Philip, expressed his regret at learning that the latter contemplated leaving the Netherlands and returning to Spain.<sup>58</sup> He told Chacon that he could not believe that the king was in earnest in proposing to set out at such a juncture, when England lay at his feet and with it the prospect of acquiring a power which would make the whole world tremble. This interview took place on July 29, three weeks before Paul's death, and was probably the last occasion on which he concerned himself with the affairs of England.

From the correspondence summarized above it is possible to draw clear conclusions as to the attitude of Paul IV towards Elizabeth during the last four months of his pontificate. It was a common expectation, justified by the violence of his proceedings in other directions, that as soon as Elizabeth gave clear proof of her intention to break with Rome he would put all the weapons of papal coercion in force to crush her. But none of these expectations were realized. In the first place, it is certain that he took no action of a specific kind against her; he made no pontifical declaration, he instituted no disciplinary proceedings. This is evident both from Philip's letter of July 3

<sup>56</sup> *Noüvelles archives des missions, ut supra.*

<sup>57</sup> Appendix 12.

<sup>58</sup> Philip set sail from Flushing for Spain on August 25, 1559.

(App. 10) and from the interviews of July 15 and 29 (Apps. 11 and 12). If Paul had been taking steps himself against Elizabeth as a heretic he could not have failed to refer to them when urging Philip to conquer her kingdom. Further, his remarks at these interviews make it plain that at that time he had not begun to contemplate action against her on his own account. He did not speak of his own intentions, as pope, but of Philip's duties, as king. Owing to the optimistic reports which he had received from Philip, and no doubt from English sources also, of the strength of the English catholics, he probably regarded the religious revolution in England as a passing madness, which would be swept away as soon as Spain interfered in earnest. In these circumstances he was contented to urge Philip to do his duty without making any suggestion as to the action which he himself might take. If Philip conquered England it was certain that she would return to the communion of Rome. This was the sole object that Paul had in view; and since it could be attained by the military power of Spain, the need for employing spiritual weapons did not arise. Two years later, when dissuading Pius IV from excommunicating Elizabeth, Philip declared that Paul had resolved before his death to proceed against her, to deprive her of her kingdom, and to bestow it on Spain.<sup>69</sup> It is probable that this declaration was based on Paul's remarks at Caracciolo's interview of July 15, but it went far beyond what actually passed. In his eager-

<sup>69</sup> Philip to Vargas, July 16, 1561: 'Paulo IV . . . quiso proceder luego contra ella y privarla del reyno y darnos la investidura del, segun entonces nos lo embió á decir y ofrescer con grande amor'. Mignet, *Marie Stuart* (1885), i. 406.

ness to secure England for himself, if Elizabeth should be deprived, Philip exaggerated what was a mere general incitement to attack into a definite assertion of papal intentions and a definite promise of papal investiture.

On August 22 Philip wrote a final letter to Cardinal Pacheco, which is strikingly characteristic of his policy.<sup>60</sup> In May he had declared that if Elizabeth persisted in her evil courses, he would leave her to the pope to be dealt with as the laws of God demanded.<sup>61</sup> He now reported her further enormities, her refusal to make a catholic marriage, the introduction of heretical services, the prohibition of the mass, the deprivation and persecution of the bishops. The contingency which he had contemplated had arisen, and it was to be expected that he would at last offer his help to execute the censures of the church. Nothing, however, was farther from his thoughts. Ignoring his letter of May, he insisted that forbearance was as necessary as ever, and he held out the old hopes of a catholic marriage or the intervention of providence. Nevertheless, he evidently expected that Paul would take some decisive step. He therefore gave Pacheco two further instructions. The first was an appeal for the exclusion of catholics from any sentence that Rome might pronounce. The second aimed at protecting Spain's temporal interests. Although England had been offered to him in July, he could not rid himself of the fear that Paul might grant it to France after all. Unwilling though he was to resume the burden from which Mary's death had released him, he was prepared to do so if the alternative was the annexation of Eng-

<sup>60</sup> Mignet, *Marie Stuart* (1885), i. 402.

<sup>61</sup> *Supra*, p. 35.

land to France. He therefore instructed Pacheco to signify his readiness to accept the English crown, if Paul, in spite of all entreaties, insisted on depriving Elizabeth and granting her kingdom to a stranger.

After all, Philip's self-denial was not put to the test. Paul IV died on August 18, 1559. In the first parliament of Elizabeth Archbishop Heath described him as a 'very austere, stern father unto us'. Such he might justly appear to one of Mary's ministers, but with Elizabeth he proved himself surprisingly patient. In spite of continuous provocation his attitude towards her was forbearing almost to the last. His first recorded utterance (December, 1558) was friendly, and after he was aware that she contemplated schism, he refused to proceed against her, announcing instead his intention of awaiting her embassy (February, 1559). In March and April he heard with indignation of her rebellion against Rome, but still he made no movement. It was not till July, when the change of religion had been accomplished, that he used expressions of definite hostility. Yet even then he spoke rather as a pious catholic than as the head of the church. He was content to tell Philip to conquer England; he made no offer to assist him with spiritual weapons. It is difficult to explain this surprising forbearance, so inconsistent with Paul's usual methods. That a pope who had threatened to deprive Charles V of his dominions as a heretic,<sup>62</sup> who had talked of citing Pole before the inquisition for crimes against the faith,<sup>63</sup> should have moved no finger against Elizabeth, who was not merely a heretic, but a relapsed heretic, is one of the mysteries of history.

<sup>62</sup> *Venetian Cal.*, vi, Nos. 501, 518.

<sup>63</sup> *Supra*, p. 28.

## CHAPTER II

### THE MISSION OF PARPAGLIA

PAUL IV died on August 18, 1559, and was succeeded on December 26 by Pius IV. The new pope was a man of different character from Paul, a statesman rather than a theologian, inclined to compromise and half-measures, averse from the violent courses in which his predecessor had delighted. As strictly orthodox as Paul, he nevertheless had leanings towards a policy which the latter would have abhorred. Before he became pope he let it be understood that he was not absolutely opposed to the grant of the cup to the laity, and that he might be willing to favour some relaxation of clerical celibacy.<sup>1</sup> In 1560 he half promised the emperor to make concessions in this direction, as a temporary measure, pending the final decision of the council.<sup>2</sup> In 1561 he told the French ambassador that in consequence of his liberal opinions some people at the conclave of 1559 had regarded him as a Lutheran.<sup>3</sup> His moderate temper and conciliatory spirit marked him out as eminently fitted to win over those who might be wavering between Rome and reform. So far as England was concerned, his accession meant a slackening of tension. If Paul's

<sup>1</sup> Sickel, *Concil von Trient*, 84. Herre, *Papstthum*, 55. Müller, *Das Konklave Pius IV*, 152, 237.

<sup>2</sup> Sickel, 84, 85, 146.

<sup>3</sup> *Instructions et lettres . . . concernant le Concile de Trente*, 110.

life had been prolonged his impetuous nature would probably have led him to some sudden outburst against Elizabeth. Pius, on the other hand, might be expected to proceed with caution in dealing with what for him was a new situation.

Almost immediately after he assumed the tiara, the question of opening communication with England began to be considered at Rome. The first proposal of the kind is found among the Vatican archives in a memorandum by an unknown hand, which must have been written early in 1560.<sup>4</sup> The writer set out that religion had been overthrown in England by the caprice of Elizabeth, against the wishes of the principal nobility and the majority of the people, but that the mildness with which the revolution had been effected offered a prospect of its reversal. The laymen and ecclesiastics who had refused to take the oath of supremacy had suffered no injury in life or limb; the government had merely deprived the latter of their dignities and property. The writer hoped that in course of time, and with the help of favourable circumstances, the queen might be inspired by God or compelled by force to return to the church. He therefore prayed the pope to proceed to her reformation by gentle means, rather than by the armed compulsion of foreign powers. As an agent for the gentle intervention which he contemplated he designated Sir Francis Englefield, who at that time was living at Padua.<sup>5</sup> Englefield was a devout catholic, who had been one of Mary's principal advisers and had been excluded from office by Elizabeth. In April, 1559, he had gone abroad

<sup>4</sup> A. O. Meyer, *England und die katholische Kirche*, 403.

<sup>5</sup> *Foreign Cal.*, 1560-1, No. 544. *Spanish Cal.*, 162.

under a royal licence, ostensibly for the benefit of his health, but really because his conscience would not permit him to conform to the new standards of religion.<sup>6</sup>

Another memorandum,<sup>7</sup> which was probably written about the same time, suggested that the pope should use Carne, Mary's old ambassador, as the agent for approaching Elizabeth. According to this plan Pius would summon Carne before him, and in the presence of four or five cardinals would order him to inform her that if she returned to the right path his holiness would not merely receive her with open arms and reunite her to holy church, but would also bestow on her all the privileges which her predecessors had enjoyed, and even more extensive ones, if that were possible. Carne would further warn her that if she rejected these advances the pope might be compelled, greatly against his inclination, to use the weapons which he had received from God, and to deal with her by other methods than those of kindness. An alternative suggestion was, that Carne should send a messenger to Elizabeth, in order to ascertain whether she would receive an envoy from the pope. Finally, the memorandum suggested that, besides approaching Elizabeth directly, Pius should urge the emperor and the kings of France and Spain to support his pressure, and should warn them against coming to her help if her obstinacy compelled him to proceed to extremities.

The two memoranda which I have summarized above contain the germ of what is known in history as Parpaglia's mission. In the spring of 1560 Sir Francis Englefield went to Rome.<sup>8</sup> An echo of his visit is

<sup>6</sup> Patent roll, 1 Eliz., part iv, m. 5, 6.

<sup>7</sup> Appendix 13.

<sup>8</sup> *Foreign Cal.*, 1560-1, No. 544. *Spanish Cal.*, 162.

found in a report which reached Vienna from Rome in April that Elizabeth had sent a secretary to the pope with a prayer to be received back into the church.<sup>9</sup> On Englefield's arrival the project of a mission took further shape, Sir Edward Carne and Parpaglia, abbot of San Solutore, being also called into council.<sup>10</sup> All three had connexions with England, Englefield and Carne being Englishmen and Parpaglia having lived many years with Cardinal Pole as his secretary and having accompanied him to England in Mary's reign. They were, no doubt, in communication with English friends, from whom they would receive news of the steadfastness of the Marian bishops and the strength of the catholics. Possibly the rumours of contemplated risings, of which de Quadra, the Spanish ambassador, heard at the end of March,<sup>11</sup> had reached their ears and convinced them that the time was ripe for papal admonitions. By their advice Pius appointed a commission of five cardinals, including Morone, the protector of England, and Carpi, who held the same office for Ireland.<sup>12</sup> Various plans were discussed by this committee. At first it was proposed that Parpaglia should travel to England alone and should present a letter from the pope to Elizabeth. Then Parpaglia

<sup>9</sup> *Hosius to Borromeo*, May 2, 1560. Theiner, *Vet. mon. Poloniae*, ii. 601. The report was described by Borromeo, when replying on May 18, as 'merum mendacium'. Steinherz, *Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland*, pt. ii, vol. i. 33.

<sup>10</sup> *Foreign Cal.*, 1560-1, No. 74. This information was furnished to Cecil by John Sheres, an Englishman who sent news from Venice. Sheres had good sources of information, as the secretary of the Savoyan ambassador at Venice was in his pay. *Ibid.*, No. 893.

<sup>11</sup> Kervyn, *Relations politiques*, ii. 289.

<sup>12</sup> *Foreign Cal.*, 1560-1, No. 74.

was set aside and another emissary was chosen, who was to be accompanied by delegates from France and Spain. On arrival in England he was first to try persuasion. If that failed he was to denounce the sentences of the church upon her, and the French and Spanish delegates were to threaten her with the temporal sword. In the end this adventurous plan, if ever seriously considered, was dropped, and Parpaglia was reinstated in the office of emissary. It was decided that he should travel alone through France and Flanders.<sup>13</sup>

Before accompanying him on his mission it will be convenient to examine its object. In order that this may be understood, brief reference must be made to the state of affairs in England. Internally the country was tranquil. The changes of 1559 had been carried out without disturbance, although a large proportion of the people remained attached to the old faith. In the sphere of foreign politics the position was less favourable. In the spring of 1560, when the mission of Parpaglia was first proposed, England seemed on the point of coming to blows with France. The cause of their quarrel was the intervention of England in Scotch affairs. In May 1559 a religious revolution had broken out in Scotland, which at that time was governed by the queen dowager, Mary of Lorraine, with the help of a French garrison. England had no concern with the original outbreak, but as soon as rebellion spread and prospered her statesmen saw in it an opportunity to rid themselves of their constant nightmare, a French invasion of England by the way of Scotland. Accordingly Elizabeth entered into communication with the insur-

<sup>13</sup> *Foreign Cal.*, 1560-1, Nos. 108, 128, 148, 162, 163.

gent Scots, first giving them help secretly while disavowing them in public, then sending the English fleet to the Firth of Forth to sink French ships (January 23, 1560), and finally concluding an alliance with the leaders of the insurrection (February 27) and marching an army into Scotland to help them to drive out the French (March 28, 1560). In ordinary times this aggression would almost certainly have provoked war. Mary queen of Scots was also queen of France,<sup>14</sup> and the French government looked on Scotland as a French possession. But the disorder of their finances, the lack of a fleet, and the spread of disaffection at home made them averse from a collision with England. They therefore sent ambassadors to London instead of declaring war. The situation, however, was critical. Ample excuse had been given for a rupture, and the invasion of England was commonly believed to be imminent. If that invasion should take place few continental statesmen doubted that it would be successful. The prestige of England had fallen low since the reign of Henry VIII. She was looked on as a country torn by religious divisions, without generals, without soldiers, without fortresses, likely to fall an easy prey to a foreign invader. At such a time papal admonitions might be expected to fall on attentive ears. When danger was threatening from France Elizabeth would hardly venture to defy the pope, for she would fear that to reject his advances might mean her excommunication.

Pius was well informed of the queen's predilection, and he counted on it as the key to unlock the door of England. In writing to his nuncio in Spain he

<sup>14</sup> Her husband, Francis II, became king on July 10, 1559.

remarked that the present time was specially favourable for a mission because the difficulties in which Elizabeth was involved would make her more accessible to persuasion.<sup>15</sup> Similarly, in conversation with the Spanish ambassador at Rome, he mentioned the probable rupture with France and the strength of the catholics in England as the reasons which had decided him to send Parpaglia.<sup>16</sup> There was thus a distinct undercurrent of menace in his proceedings. He desired to offer an olive branch, but he meant Elizabeth to realize that if she refused it he held a sword in reserve.

If she had felt any doubts the choice of an envoy would have removed them. Parpaglia, the man of the pope's choice, was a Piedmontese, titular abbot of the monastery of San Solutore.<sup>17</sup> Although he held spiritual preferment he was probably a layman. Santa Croce, the nuncio in Spain, referred to him as a 'gentil-uomo',<sup>18</sup> and Sheres, Cecil's correspondent at Venice, described him as 'utterly unlearned'.<sup>19</sup> He had hitherto been known mainly as a servant of Cardinal Pole, with whom he had lived in England. On Pole's death (November 17, 1558) he went to the Low Countries, where he was arrested about December 15 by the Spanish authorities as a French spy.<sup>20</sup> After a short

<sup>15</sup> Appendix 14.

<sup>16</sup> Appendix 19.

<sup>17</sup> The monastery of San Solutore (or Saluto), which used to stand at one of the gates of Turin, was demolished by the French in 1536. G. Baldesano, *La sacra historia di S. Maurizio*, 280. San Solutore commanded a company in the famous Theban legion, and was martyred, according to the legend, near Turin about the end of the third century.

<sup>18</sup> *Miscellanea di storia Italiana*, v. 1044.

<sup>19</sup> *Foreign Cal.*, 1560-1, No. 449.

<sup>20</sup> Weiss, *Papiers d'État de Granvelle*, v. 389, 399, 402. *Venetian*

detention he was banished from the dominions of the king of Spain and entered the service of Cardinal Farnese. In July, 1559, he is referred to by the French ambassador at Brussels as likely to be serviceable to the Guises in that capacity.<sup>21</sup> His previous career may be summed up in the statement that he was a friend, perhaps a spy, of France, odious to Elizabeth, and an object of suspicion to Philip. The choice of such an envoy proved that persuasion was not the only weapon which Pius proposed to use against her.

Parpaglia set out from Rome on May 25, 1560.<sup>22</sup> His original instructions directed him to go first to the French court and obtain the assistance of the French government.<sup>23</sup> From thence he was to proceed to Flanders and await the safe-conduct to England which it was hoped that de Quadra, the Spanish ambassador in London, would procure for him. Ultimately the plan of travelling through France was abandoned, probably at the instance of Vargas, the Spanish ambassador at Rome, and Parpaglia made his way to Brussels through Germany by way of Spires and Cologne.<sup>24</sup> Before his departure the pope wrote letters to the emperor, the king of Spain, the king of France, the duchess of Parma, governess of the Netherlands, and Granvelle, her principal adviser, announcing

*Cal.*, vii. 229. Gachard, *Correspondance de Marguerite d'Autriche*, i. 208. *Spanish Cal.*, 159. Kervyn, *Rel. Pol.*, ii. 513.

<sup>21</sup> L. Paris, *Ambassades de l'Aubespine*, 47, 48.

<sup>22</sup> Appendix 15.

<sup>23</sup> Appendix 14.

<sup>24</sup> *Foreign Cal.*, 1560-1, No. 224, § 5. Dixon says (*History*, v. 285) that Parpaglia went into France on his way to Flanders, but this is not stated by any authority and is very improbable. If he had gone first into France he would not have travelled *via* Spires and the Rhine.

his dispatch and urging them to use their influence with Elizabeth to induce her to listen to his message.<sup>25</sup> Parpaglia himself carried two letters, besides a formal letter of credit. The first of these is well known and has often been printed.<sup>26</sup> It adjured Elizabeth to reject evil advisers and return to the bosom of the church, promising in return to provide her with all things necessary for her salvation and to establish and confirm her princely title. The language was mild and benevolent, no hint of menace jarred its gentle exhortation. The second letter struck a different note. No copy of it is extant, but Parpaglia informed the duchess of Parma that he carried such a letter, and her references to it show that it contained threats.<sup>27</sup> Probably it warned Elizabeth that if she refused to listen to friendly admonition she would be excommunicated and deprived of her kingdom. Hints of this intention are found elsewhere. The instructions which the pope sent to his nuncio in France on May 15, while enlarging on the benevolent objects of the mission, ended with the threat that if she remained obstinate he would take steps to punish her.<sup>28</sup> Ten days later Pius repeated the threat to the French ambassador.<sup>29</sup> Similarly the papal nuncio at Vienna, when asking the emperor to use his influence in favour of the abbot, told Ferdinand that if she refused to admit him the kings of France and Spain would close their states to commercial intercourse with England, and

<sup>25</sup> Baronius (Raynaldus), *Annales*, vol. xxxiv. 73. *R. O. Roman Transcripts*, vol. 69. From *Arch. Vat. Arm. xliv. Tom. 10*, f. 182 d, and Barberini, xxxi. 10, f. 51.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. *Foreign Cal.*, 1560-1, p. 42.

<sup>27</sup> Gachard, *Correspondance de Marguerite d'Autriche*, i. 222.

<sup>28</sup> Appendix 16.

<sup>29</sup> Appendix 17.

would further, if the pope so desired, take up arms against her.<sup>30</sup> The French ambassador in Spain wrote to his government on June 7 that Parpaglia had been sent to turn Elizabeth from the path on which she was travelling and, if gentle admonition failed, to threaten her with the fate which had befallen enemies of the church in times past.<sup>31</sup> A fortnight later Montague and Chamberlain, the English ambassadors in Spain, informed the queen that Pius was earnestly labouring with Philip for her excommunication.<sup>32</sup> Although they made no mention of Parpaglia's mission, of which they had not yet heard, their report affords striking evidence of the fears which it excited in Englishmen and the hostile possibilities which it contained.

Before Parpaglia set out the pope, on May 3, informed Vargas of the intention to dispatch him. Having heard that a breach had occurred between England and France, and that there were many catholics in England who desired help, Pius had resolved to treat with her for her return to the church. He wished to deal with her by the way of kindness, but at the same time he meant to make her understand that if she were obstinate she ran the risk of deprivation. Vargas applauded the benevolent purpose of the pope, but warned him against any attempt at deprivation as inopportune and likely to lead to a European war. Pius admitted the force of Vargas's objections, and promised to take no action in that direction without consulting Philip. The conversation then turned on the choice of an envoy.

<sup>30</sup> Giacomo Soranzo to the Doge of Venice, June 9, 1560. G. Turba, *Venetianische Depeschen vom Kaiserhofe*, iii. 148.

<sup>31</sup> *Revue d'histoire diplomatique*, xiii. 589.

<sup>32</sup> Appendix 18.

On hearing that Parpaglia had been selected Vargas protested against him as altogether unsuitable. Although he was unable to obtain a promise that another envoy would be chosen, he reported to Madrid that his remonstrance had made a considerable impression.<sup>33</sup> The alarm which the pope's plan had excited in Vargas was fully shared by his master. With a promptitude very alien from his dilatory methods Philip wrote to Rome at once (June 1) by special messenger deplored the unwisdom and untimeliness of the project. He was amazed, he said, that Pius should think of sending a mission which could bring nothing but misery on the catholics and discredit on the papal see. To threaten Elizabeth at a time when she was in difficulties with France would stimulate the aggressiveness of the French and almost inevitably rekindle a European war. Philip was ready to support papal censures if issued at an opportune time, but it was useless to utter threats when no means existed of carrying them out. He implored the pope to countermand the mission, or, if the envoy had set out, to recall him. Finally, if Pius persisted in his intentions, Philip insisted on the substitution of another envoy for Parpaglia, who in any case was unsuitable, as odious to Elizabeth and distrusted by Spain. In order to make his advice more acceptable he promised that when the time came, as it soon would, for issuing invitations to a general council, the pope would receive his support in any communication that might be made to Elizabeth. At the same time Philip wrote to the duchess of Parma at Brussels, directing her to prevent Parpaglia from

executing his mission until further instructions were sent to him from Rome.<sup>34</sup>

The disquiet which the news of Parpaglia's coming had aroused in Philip and Vargas was felt equally in England. Carne wrote to Elizabeth at the pope's request on May 6, announcing the mission, and Englefield also informed Bacon.<sup>35</sup> Though both must have laid stress on the pope's pacific intentions, the news excited Elizabeth's alarm. The choice of Parpaglia as envoy and the project of sending him through France were facts of evil omen. Elizabeth's position was not so secure that she could regard papal hostility with indifference. Its possibilities had been brought home to her in March, when rumours were current that the pope intended to excommunicate her and place her kingdom under an interdict.<sup>36</sup> In the same month de Seure, the French ambassador, told de Quadra that if France could not come to terms with her the pope would probably be induced to intervene. She herself had not concealed her alarm in conversation with de Quadra, although she had defiantly declared that Pius might find her *victa* but never *supplex*.<sup>37</sup> Since then the course of events had increased her danger. Her army had invaded Scotland at the end of March, but her hopes of driving out the French at once had been disappointed. Leith was still held by a French garrison, and an attempt to carry it by storm on May 7 had been ignominiously

<sup>34</sup> *Archivo General de Simancas, Secretaria de Estado*, Legajo 891, f. 60. A French translation is given by Gachard in *Correspondance de Marguerite d'Autriche*, i. 204-6.

<sup>35</sup> *Foreign Cal.*, 1560-1, Nos. 162, 163. Kervyn, *Rel. Pol.*, ii. 517.

<sup>36</sup> *Spanish Cal.*, 135.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 136.

defeated. England was nominally at peace with France, but the provocation which she had given would lead at once to a declaration of war if a favourable opportunity occurred. In these circumstances the arrival of a papal emissary, notoriously attached to France, could not fail to fill Elizabeth with alarm. Whatever the intentions of the pope may have been, her guilty conscience, as her enemies would have called it, must have presented to her the most disquieting visions of internal rebellion and foreign attack. The acuteness of her fears was shown by an increased severity of persecution, which was stimulated by rumours of stirrings among the catholics. At the end of March, de Quadra informed the duchess of Parma that he had heard whisperings from three or four quarters of contemplated risings. He believed that something really serious was on foot. Towards the end of May he reported to his government that of late the adherents of the old faith had been harassed more harshly than ever. On his reproaching Elizabeth with her cruelty, she had replied that they were plotting rebellion, and that those who outwardly made the humblest show of submission were deepest in treason against her.<sup>38</sup> In June Throgmorton, the English ambassador in France, informed his Venetian *confrère* that a great conspiracy had been discovered, leading to the arrest of upwards of twenty of the ringleaders.<sup>39</sup>

The most distinguished of the sufferers from Elizabeth's alarms were the Marian bishops. From the beginning of her reign these devoted men had offered a sturdy resistance to her proceedings, and she herself

<sup>38</sup> *Spanish Cal.*, 138, 156. Kervyn, *Rel. Pol.*, ii. 289, 438.

<sup>39</sup> *Venetian Cal.*, vii. 233.

believed that in Mary's time they had endeavoured to get her excluded from the throne.<sup>40</sup> Soon after her accession, when her resolve to break with Rome had become apparent, they meditated excommunicating her, and White, bishop of Winchester, offered to pronounce the sentence at Paul's Cross, if his brethren would accompany and countenance him. In the end the project was abandoned on the advice of Archbishop Heath, who thought it better to leave the task to the pope.<sup>41</sup> In the summer of 1559 they all, with one

<sup>40</sup> A pamphlet published against Cecil and Bacon in 1573 accused Cecil of 'persuading her falsely, that the most Reverend Prelate Cardinal Pole (being for lerning and vertue ye light and starre of your Nation) with divers of Q[ueen] Maries Counsell, had made in her time certaine assemblies and conferences about this Q[ueen's] deprivation, which was never thought on'. *A Treatise of Treasons*, 1573, p. 89.

<sup>41</sup> Allen, *Defence of English Catholics*, 1584, p. 52. Parsons, *Story of Domestical Troubles* (*Cath. Rec. Soc.*, ii. 59). Camden states in his *Annals* (p. 28 of edition of 1615) that the plan of excommunication was formed in connexion with the Westminster conference, a religious disputation held in March–April, 1559, and that White and Watson were sent to the Tower in consequence. The similarity of this story with Allen's has been noticed, but the connexion of the two has not been completely traced. It was as follows. Allen makes no mention of the Westminster conference. He merely says that the bishops contemplated the excommunication of Elizabeth at the beginning of her reign. But the Roman edition of Sanders's *de Schismate* (1586), which was probably published under Allen's supervision, gives a narrative of the conference (p. 382), connects it by the words 'atque hic (here) certe' with the proposal to excommunicate the queen, and then copies the account of that proposal almost verbatim from the Latin translation (*Contra persecutores Anglos*, 1584, p. 63) of Allen's tract. The first draft of the *Annals* (British Museum, Cotton MSS., Faustina F. iv. 17) follows the *de Schismate* exactly. It says 'adeoque indignati sunt ex illis (pontificiis) nonnulli ut Reginam, et huius defectionis authores Excommunicationis censurâ feriendos censuerint'. In the

exception, refused to take the oath of supremacy. By the end of the year they had been deprived of their bishoprics and, with the exception of Goldwell who escaped abroad, were living under supervision, the exact nature of which is unknown. Some probably resided in the houses of friends, others in the custody of Elizabethan bishops-elect.<sup>42</sup> In the spring and summer of 1560 eight of the nine survivors were committed to prisons in London—six to the Tower,<sup>43</sup> one to the Marshalsea,<sup>44</sup> and one to the Fleet.<sup>45</sup> Feckenham, ex-abbot of Westminster, and Boxall, one of Mary's secretaries of state, were sent to the Tower at the same time. Ostensibly they were the objects of church discipline. Having been summoned before the ecclesiastical commissioners, and having refused to

*Annals*, as published, this passage is changed to 'adeoque indignati sunt Lincolniensis et Wintoniensis, ut Reginam, et huius ab Ecclesia Romana defectionis authores, excommunicationis censura feriendos censuerint, qui hanc ob causam incarcerati'. Why Camden made this change I am unable to say. The immediate authority for his first draft was perhaps Pollini's *Historia ecclesiastica della rivoluzione d'Inghilterra*, 1594, p. 420, which simply translates the Latin of the *de Schismate* into Italian. The Bodleian library's copy of Pollini's book originally belonged to Sir Robert Cotton, a great friend of Camden, who may have consulted it in Cotton's library.

<sup>42</sup> Father Phillips states (*Extinction of the Ancient Hierarchy*, 123 sqq.) that all were committed to the custody of Elizabethan bishops-elect in November, 1559, but the evidence seems to me inconclusive.

<sup>43</sup> Watson (Lincoln) and Pate (Worcester), May 20, Thirlby (Ely), June 3, Heath (York), June 10, Turberville (Exeter), and Bourne (Bath and Wells), June 18. *Cath. Rec. Soc.*, i. 56.

<sup>44</sup> Bonner (London), April 20. *Ibid.*, p. 52.

<sup>45</sup> Scot (Chester), May 13. *Ibid.*, p. 53. Pole (Peterborough) was the only bishop left at large.

accept the religion of the state, they were committed to prison as disobedient to the orders of the court.<sup>46</sup> There can be little doubt, however, that the real cause of their incarceration was Elizabeth's dread of a mission from Rome. She considered it dangerous to leave the most distinguished upholders of the old order at liberty at a time when the pope seemed preparing to strike a blow in its behalf.<sup>47</sup> The act was cruel, but its motive was self-defence.

The queen's state of mind at this time is reflected in a conversation which she had with de Quadra at the beginning of June. Her great fear was that the mission indicated a radical change in Philip's attitude, that he had withdrawn the hand which had stayed Paul IV from denouncing on her the censures of the church, and that he would look on unconcerned while Pius launched them and France attempted to carry them into effect. On this point de Quadra eased her mind. The intentions of the pope were purely benevolent, and Philip had not abandoned her. Relieved by this assurance Elizabeth proceeded, after her usual manner when she felt special need of Spanish support, to overwhelm de Quadra with protestations of her orthodoxy. She declared that she was as good a catholic as he, that she believed the same in religion

<sup>46</sup> The records of the court of high commission are not extant, but the fact that the bishops were its victims is proved by a letter of the privy council to Archbishop Parker (*Parker Soc., Parker Letters*, 121), and a certificate of the wardens of the Fleet and Marshalsea that Bonner and Scot had been committed by the 'Queen's majesty's commissioners'. *Cath. Rec. Soc.*, i. 52, 53. Cf. Forbes, *Transactions*, i. 505.

<sup>47</sup> Parpaglia himself ascribed the imprisonment of the bishops to his mission. *Foreign Cal.*, 1560-1, No. 507. See also *Spanish Cal.*, 170.

as all the catholics in her kingdom, that the changes she had made had been forced on her against her conscience, that she would gladly receive Parpaglia, and that it would not be her fault if the union of Christendom were not restored. These amazing declarations left de Quadra cold. He was merely struck by the effrontery with which she suited her conversation to the needs of the moment.<sup>48</sup>

Parpaglia arrived in Brussels on June 16, and was received by the duchess of Parma the next day.<sup>49</sup> He showed her the letter which he carried with him from the pope, told her he was the bearer of another of more rigorous tenor, but that he would not use it if she disapproved, and asked her to obtain for him from de Quadra a safe-conduct for his passage into England. The duchess had already heard from de Quadra that Elizabeth seemed disposed to receive the pope's messenger, and she was on the point of making the desired application when she received Philip's order to suspend further action. In obedience to these instructions she persuaded Parpaglia to remain in Brussels, warning him especially to breathe no word of the rigorous letter lest Elizabeth should hear of it and should wreak her exasperation on the catholics.<sup>50</sup> Parpaglia had not long to wait before the effect of Philip's motion at Rome was known. On July 10 he received orders from Cardinal Borromeo, the papal secretary, to remain in Brussels for the present, or, if he had already reached England, to conform himself exactly to the instructions which he might receive from de Quadra.<sup>51</sup> At the

<sup>48</sup> Kervyn, *Rel. Pol.*, ii. 440, 441.

<sup>49</sup> Gachard, *Correspondance de Marguerite d'Autriche*, i. 221.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>51</sup> Kervyn, *Rel. Pol.*, ii. 503.

same time the duchess heard from Vargas that the pope consented to abandon the mission, but was unwilling to countermand it openly. It had been undertaken, so Vargas wrote, at the instigation of France, and the pope, though ready to recall Parpaglia to please Philip, was afraid lest by doing so he should offend the French. In order to extricate himself from the dilemma Pius desired that Elizabeth should be induced by de Quadra to refuse the safe-conduct. By this disingenuous device the whole blame of the failure of the mission would be thrown on the English queen, and Pius would escape the reproaches of the French. The proposal did not commend itself to the duchess of Parma, who distrusted the goodwill of the French and the firmness of the pope. She feared that if Elizabeth refused the safe-conduct the French would press Pius to proceed to extremities against her, and that Pius would yield to their solicitations. She therefore instructed de Quadra to write a letter to Parpaglia which would purport to express his own views. In this letter he was to explain that he was averse from applying for the safe-conduct because he feared that it might be refused, and that in any case the time was ill chosen for a papal mission which would not become opportune until the pope issued invitations for the council.<sup>52</sup> On receipt of these instructions de Quadra had a further conversation with Elizabeth towards the end of July. He found her in a different mood from that of two months earlier. In the beginning of June she had been a prey to various apprehensions; the French had not yet been dislodged from Scotland, and she feared that Spain might take

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 503, 514. Gachard, *Correspondance de Marguerite d'Autriche*, i. 235, 239.

sides against her. Since then the negotiations of the previous months had been brought to a conclusion by the treaty of Edinburgh (July 6, 1560), which provided for the evacuation of Scotland by the French. Elizabeth had, therefore, gained her ends, and in her interview with de Quadra the note of triumph was apparent. Since the ambassador made no formal application for a safe-conduct she made no refusal of one, but she let him see that she was glad to be excused from saying yes or no. She objected to the person of Parpaglia, and she saw no reason why the pope should send an envoy to her. She was not so ignorant, she said, of true religion as to stand in need of instruction in her beliefs. If his object was to persuade her to leave the religion of her country in suspense until the meeting of the council the abbot's mission was equally futile. On no account could she consent to such a demand. Her confidence in the truth of her own faith was so profound that she would rather die than change it. She ended by saying that she hoped that de Quadra would get the mission stopped, because she did not wish to affront the pope or any one else.<sup>53</sup> After this conversation de Quadra wrote to Parpaglia the letter which he had preconcerted with the duchess of Parma. He told him that the queen disliked him personally, that there was not the least prospect of her altering her religious policy, and that his coming would have no other result than to alienate her still more from Rome and aggravate the sufferings of the catholics. De Quadra was not prepared to say that a safe-conduct would be refused if formally applied for, but if Parpaglia came over he

<sup>53</sup> *Spanish Cal.*, 170. Kervyn, *Rel. Pol.*, ii. 515.

would reap nothing but dishonour to himself and the papal see.<sup>54</sup> The ambassador's unwillingness to see Parpaglia in England was confirmed by a conversation which he had with the bishop of Amiens, a French diplomatist, at the beginning of August. The bishop spoke strongly in favour of the mission, and upbraided de Quadra for obstructing the cause of true religion for worldly respects.<sup>55</sup> His reproaches made no impression on de Quadra. The eagerness of the French to support Parpaglia was a measure of the danger which his coming would cause.

The efforts of the Spanish government to keep Parpaglia out of England were completely successful. The pope sent him orders in September or earlier to return to Rome.<sup>56</sup> He did not obey them at once, probably because he still nourished hopes of carrying out his mission. In October he wrote to Rome announcing his forthcoming departure,<sup>57</sup> and in November, on receipt of fresh instructions, he left Brussels and returned to Rome by way of France.<sup>58</sup> In the middle of November he was at the French court, where, according to Throgmorton, he held 'a very lewd discourse' with the cardinal of Lorraine about Elizabeth and her proceedings.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 517.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 522.

<sup>56</sup> Appendix 20.

<sup>57</sup> Appendix 21.

<sup>58</sup> Gachard, *Correspondance de Marguerite d'Autriche*, i. 332.

<sup>59</sup> *Foreign Cal.*, 1560-1, No. 737, § 10. The Foreign Calendar (*Ibid.*, No. 507) prints a letter of Parpaglia, dated September 8, with the heading 'the Abbot of St. Salute to the Queen'. The letter (*S. P., Foreign, Eliz.*, xviii, No. 273) is a copy and bears no endorsement. As the context shows, it was certainly not addressed to Elizabeth, or any one in England, but to an Italian correspondent at some Italian court. It probably reached Cecil from his correspondent, Sheres, at

The incident of Parpaglia's mission was thus closed. Its main interest consists in the light which it throws on the motives and policy of the various powers. It exhibits the pope as conscientiously bent on recovering England to the church, and as ready to use both persuasion and force in order to accomplish his purpose. In sending a mission to Elizabeth when she was involved in difficulties with France, and in choosing for his envoy a man whose connexions and sympathies were notoriously French, he signified not obscurely that he hoped more from her fear than her goodwill. He can indeed hardly have supposed that a few well-turned Latin sentences would induce her to overthrow the system which she had set up in 1559. But if Parpaglia had secured admission the production of the 'rigorous letter' at a critical moment might have had a very different result.

While the sole object of Pius was the conversion of England, France and Spain were actuated entirely by political considerations. The French welcomed Parpaglia, and were indignant with Spanish statesmen for obstructing him. Spain regarded his mission as disastrous, and stopped it with a determined hand. In both cases religion was postponed to policy. France, which had fomented protestant plots against Mary, was now eager for a catholic England which might have preferred a legitimate sovereign to the bastard Elizabeth. Spain, the champion of orthodoxy, could not endure that England should abjure her heresies by the persuasion or the compulsion of France. On this, as on

Venice. Sheres had the secretary of the Savoyan ambassador at Venice in his pay (*Foreign Cal.*, 1560-1, No. 893), and sent Cecil copies of some of Parpaglia's letters on October 5 (*Ibid.*, No. 606).

other occasions, Elizabeth found her safety in the jealousies of her more powerful neighbours. So far as Parpaglia was concerned, her attitude was passive. She was not asked, and she did not refuse, to receive him. She regarded the man himself as an adventurer,<sup>60</sup> and his mission as a danger to the peace of her kingdom. His coming placed her in an awkward dilemma, for to admit him might lead to rebellion and to exclude him would be a declaration of war against Rome. She was therefore very glad that Spain solved the difficulty by persuading the pope to recall him before he had formally applied for admission.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>60</sup> de Quadra says that she called him a 'gallofo' (idle, lazy vagabond). Kervyn, *Rel. Pol.*, ii. 515. The word which she used was probably the Italian 'gagliofo', meaning a worthless scoundrel. Her conversations with Spanish ambassadors were usually carried on in Italian.

<sup>61</sup> On June 30 the Venetian ambassador reported to his government that Elizabeth had declined to admit Parpaglia. (*Venetian Cal.*, vii, No. 178, p. 233.) His information was, however, second hand, and is contradicted by the first-hand evidence of de Quadra.

## CHAPTER III

### THE RESUMMONING OF THE COUNCIL OF TRENT

WITH the return of Parpaglia to Italy the first effort of Pius to bring England back to the Roman communion came to an end. A few months later he had occasion to approach Elizabeth again in connexion with the resummoning of the council of Trent. Since Anglo-Roman relations from 1561 to 1563 turned entirely on England's attitude towards that famous assembly, it is necessary, in order that they may be clearly understood, to give an account of the circumstances which led to its meeting again. The council had already sat for two periods in the previous twenty years, and had broken up abruptly on April 28, 1552. After several years of European war, which left no room for a congress of the church, the peace of Cateau-Cambrésis (April 2, 1559) opened a prospect of further deliberations. In all parts of western Christendom hopes were still entertained that religious unity might be restored by the time-honoured remedy. But many difficulties had to be overcome before the remedy could be applied. Chief among these was the division of catholic from protestant. The protestant powers, particularly England and the princes of the confession of Augsburg, while professing their willingness to take part in a council, insisted that it should be convoked anew, that it should be independent of the pope, and that it should admit them to an operative share in its

deliberations. The catholic powers, the pope, the emperor, France and Spain, agreed in desiring an assembly constituted on traditional lines, but were divided on the question whether a new council should be summoned or whether the old should resume its sittings.<sup>1</sup> If the former course were adopted the decrees which had already been enacted would lapse, if the latter they would retain the force of infallible determinations. The pope and the king of Spain were in favour of resumption. The canons enacted at the earlier sessions had decided the principal subjects of dispute in a strongly anti-protestant sense. These dogmas, in the eyes of Pius and Philip, were bulwarks against heresy. To suffer them to lapse would be to abandon ground which had already been won, to expose the church anew to the risks of disintegration which are inseparable from discussions of dogma.<sup>2</sup> They were averse on principle from attempts at conciliation which, in their opinion, merely encouraged protestants in obstinacy. As Pius IV pointed out to the French ambassador in September, 1560, heresy was a disease for which there was no remedy but fire and sword.<sup>3</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> When it broke up in 1552 it had not dissolved but had merely decreed a suspension of two years.

<sup>2</sup> *Acad. de Reims*, vol. 27 (1859), p. 69. *Doc. inéd.*, xcvi. 217. Weiss, *Papiers d'État de Granvelle*, vi. 472. Philip and his advisers stated this view to the Spanish nuncio in a very crude way. They told him that they had burnt many men for dissenting from the doctrine of justification as decreed by the council in 1546, and that if a new council reversed or altered that decree the men who had been burnt would appear to have been put to death unjustly. Šusta, *Die römische Curie*, i. 171.

<sup>3</sup> *Acad. de Reims*, *ut supra*, 31. *Instructions et lettres . . . concernant le Concile de Trente*, 81 sqq.

only wise course was to root it out and prevent its recrudescence by defining dogmas and reforming abuses.

The pressure of circumstances had forced the emperor to very different conclusions. Although Ferdinand was as orthodox as Philip, he knew that the policy which Philip was applying successfully in Spain was impossible in Germany, where reform seemed much more likely to swallow up catholicism than catholicism to exterminate reform. Being unable to conceive the possibility of the permanent division of Europe between the rival creeds he was driven to conciliation.<sup>4</sup> If a new council were summoned the protestants, so he hoped, might be induced to attend and the restoration of religious unity might possibly be brought about; to resume the sittings of the old body would merely confirm existing divisions.<sup>5</sup> He therefore urged the pope to make a fresh start with a new assembly.

The representations of Ferdinand were seconded by France. In France, until the death of Henry II (July 10, 1559), protestantism had made slow progress and had been dealt with by a policy of rigorous repression. Since Henry's death it had spread rapidly, had gained converts among the princes of the blood and the great nobles, and had disturbed the state by conspiracy and tumult. It was outgrowing the old remedies, and the Guises, who governed France, were forced to seek for others. Their difficulties led them to the same conclusion as Ferdinand. Like him they pressed the pope to

<sup>4</sup> Sickel, *Concil von Trient*, 53, 59, 61, 110.

<sup>5</sup> *Doc. inéd.*, xcvi. 154.

summon a new council, representing, as he had done, that the unity of Christendom could not be restored unless the protestants attended, and that the only way to induce them to come was to begin again from the beginning.<sup>6</sup>

The greater part of 1560 was spent in the exchange of opinions between the pope, the emperor, France, and Spain on the question of resumption versus induction.<sup>7</sup> For a time it seemed as if their differences would make action of any sort impossible, but in the latter part of 1560 events in France forced the pope to take a decided step. Since the spring of 1560 there had been talk in that country of summoning a national council with a view to allaying discontents and devising immediate remedies for local evils. The proposal was condemned unanimously by the pope, the emperor, and the king of Spain as likely to produce nothing but disunion and schism.<sup>8</sup> Nevertheless, it found increasing favour in France, the meeting of notables at Fontainebleau pronounced for it (August 21, 1560), and an edict was published on September 10 convoking a national congress for January 20, 1561.<sup>9</sup> In the notices issued to the bishops and in correspondence with their ambassadors the French government laid stress on its provisional character.<sup>10</sup> It was a temporary and local expedient, rendered necessary by the delays which the

<sup>6</sup> *Acad. de Reims*, xxvii. 12 sqq. *Instructions et lettres*, 41, 169. L. Paris, *Négociations*, 432, 502.

<sup>7</sup> Indiction (*indictio*) was the technical word used to describe the summoning of a new council.

<sup>8</sup> Sickel, *Concil von Trient*, 85, 103. *Doc. inéd.*, xcvi. 150, 151. Weiss, *Papiers d'État de Granvelle*, vi. 138. *Acad. de Reims*, xxvii. 27.

<sup>9</sup> L. Paris, *Négociations*, 486, 489, 492.

<sup>10</sup> Le Plat, *Monumentorum*, iv. 650.

pope was interposing to the assemblage of a general council. The convocation was thus half a threat and half a challenge. The pope answered it by his bull of November 29, 1560, which summoned the fathers to meet at Easter, 1561, in the city of Trent.

The negotiations which led to the bull of November were conducted between the pope and the principal catholic powers. Protestants were not approached by Pius, and they took no part in his deliberations. In the case of Germany they were, in theory, represented by the emperor, but England, Denmark, and Sweden were sovereign states which the pope, if he had seen fit, might have admitted to his counsels. To do so would, however, have been to condone their revolt from the Roman obedience and to treat rebels as if they were independent powers. It was impossible for him to take such a course without giving up the claims to spiritual supremacy on which his whole position was based.<sup>11</sup> The bull of summons was, therefore, issued without any communication between Pius and the protestant powers. Although strangers to his proceedings, they followed them with anger and apprehension. As a matter of theory they were no less eager than the catholics for the restoration of unity, but they differed widely from their opponents as to the manner in which it should be brought to pass. For the catholic a council was an assembly of ecclesiastics, such as had sat at intervals during the middle ages, summoned by the pope, having the pope or his legate as president, and composed, so far as power of voting went, of none save cardinals, bishops and generals of religious orders. The protestant, on the other hand, regarding the papacy as

<sup>11</sup> Cf. *Instructions et lettres*, 83.

the root of all evil, demanded that the council should be convoked by the civil power, and that the pope should be excluded from authority in an assembly whose principal duty would be to judge him.

When so wide a gulf divided them from their opponents one might have expected that the protestants would realize the hopelessness of reunion and would look with indifference on plans for bringing it to pass. But the ideal of a single undivided catholic church as the only possible foundation for ordered government was rooted too deeply in men's minds to be dislodged by facts. Regardless of the actual situation of Europe many protestants hoped that religious peace might be restored by an assembly constituted after their own ideals, hostile to the pope and favourable to reformed doctrines. Apart from such dreams no one who had renounced the Roman allegiance could look forward with indifference to the meeting of a council. Since its great object was reunion, the coercion of the recalcitrant followed logically on its assemblage. Those who stood outside it and refused obstinately to submit to its decrees must expect to meet the fate of the Albigenses. The possibility that it would pave the way to the forcible suppression of dissent was never absent from men's minds, filling catholics with hope and protestants with foreboding.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup> In May, 1560, the pope told his nuncio in France that if Elizabeth rejected his advances he would try to punish her with the help of a council (*supra*, p. 48). In August he informed the king of France that in due course he would expect help towards the formation of a league to compel the obedience of all who resisted its decrees (Sickel, *Concil von Trient*, 89). He spoke in still stronger terms to the Spanish ambassador in November, 1561 (Weiss,

In these circumstances protestant divines and statesmen began to busy themselves with the question of the council as soon as the restoration of peace opened a prospect of its meeting. The subject was discussed at length at the diet of Augsburg (March, 1559), where, in reply to a proposition of the emperor, the protestant states declared the terms on which they were prepared to take part. The main conditions on which they insisted were that, before any meeting took place, the decrees which had been enacted at Trent should be repealed, that a new council should be indicted (but not by the pope, who would merely be a member and would not preside), that decrees should be based on scripture only, that theologians of the confession of Augsburg should have equal power of voting with catholic bishops, and that decrees should be adopted, not by a majority of votes, but in accordance with the voice of God.<sup>13</sup>

We now return to England. Although she was remote from the centre of religious discussion, the question of the council was not absent from the minds of her statesmen. The letters of Mundt, Elizabeth's agent in Germany, who attended at the diet of Augsburg, contain many references to the subject. In July,

*Papiers d'État de Granvelle*, vi. 401). Similar expressions of opinion by catholic authorities might be multiplied. The protestants would have been equally ready to use a council to crush their opponents if they could have got one to their liking. For talk about a protestant league to exterminate catholics see, for instance, *Foreign Cal.*, 1560-1, No. 149. But owing to the jealousies of European powers papal leagues to uproot reform and protestant leagues to overwhelm papists were never more than counsels of perfection.

<sup>13</sup> A copy of the answer is in *State Papers Foreign, Eliz.*, vol. iv, No. 337. Cf. *Foreign Cal.*, 1558-9, No. 737.

1560, Jewel, bishop of Salisbury, wrote to Peter Martyr that every one was talking about it.<sup>14</sup> In February of the same year Throgmorton called the attention of the government to it from Paris.<sup>15</sup> His letter is interesting as giving the opinion of one who, though a strong protestant, nevertheless desired that a council should meet and that England should be represented at it. He recommended that a large number of English bishops and deans should attend, and gave no hint of any doubt as to their reception. He was evidently one of those who hoped for an assembly on protestant lines. It does not seem to have occurred to him that no English bishop save those whom Elizabeth had deprived had any chance of admission to a council summoned by the pope. Some months later Chamberlain, the English ambassador in Spain, sounded a note of warning. He informed the queen that at the Spanish court it was generally expected that she would recognize the assembly which Pius proposed to convoke, as being a safer guide in religion than the particular opinions of a few learned men of her realm. Spanish statesmen, he added, dropped hints of the risks she would run if she ignored such a body or refused to accept its decrees.<sup>16</sup> In December he returned to the subject, remarking that it was generally supposed that Elizabeth would not refuse to take part in a council which had been accepted by the principal powers of Europe.<sup>17</sup>

At the end of November Throgmorton gave Elizabeth further advice through Jones, his secretary, whom

<sup>14</sup> Parker Soc., *Zürich Letters*, 1st series, 90, 53.

<sup>15</sup> Forbes, *Negotiations*, i. 320. <sup>16</sup> Appendix 22.

<sup>17</sup> *Foreign Cal.*, 1560-1, No. 762, § 3.

he had sent over to England. He counselled the queen to ally herself with the Germans and the Scots in order, presumably, to secure an assembly which would be acceptable to protestants. Elizabeth replied that the Scots were a *populus sine capite*, but that she was in communication with the Germans and relied confidently upon them. In reporting this conversation to Throgmorton Jones added the curious information that no secret was made of it at court, and that an Italian fool, no doubt the court jester, had talked about it openly, discussing the policy to be adopted in the same way that Jones had done at his interview with Elizabeth.<sup>18</sup> This levity was not at all to the liking of Cecil, who was displeased with Throgmorton for bringing forward the subject at all. He wished that Jones 'had not told the Queens majesty a mater of such weight being unmete he said for a womans knowledge'.<sup>19</sup>

In the course of 1560 Elizabeth herself referred occasionally to the council in her conversation with foreign ambassadors. Her views were probably not very different from Throgmorton's, but she expressed

<sup>18</sup> *Hardwicke State Papers*, i. 164, 166. As Jones's letter is not quite correctly reproduced I give a correct transcript of the passage referring to the council from the original manuscript (British Museum, Add. MS., 35830, p. 67): 'Toching the consaill and the confederacion therin towching the Scottes and Almains she said that the Scots were populus sine capite but thother and her Majesty here one from an other, and that she did make assured accompt of them, nevertheles there was non named unto me/ But how secret that mater is made, it may apere by the itallian fole who upon provocation talkd openly of the same, and devisd upon the meanes of sending, even as I had debated the same with the Queen's Majesty.'

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*

herself with her usual ambiguity. In February in a conversation with de Quadra and Helfenstein, the emperor's envoy, she declared that her dearest wish was to see Christendom reunited by the council which had so often begun its labours in vain. Neither her pious wishes nor her practical help would be wanting to the emperor and the other Christian princes in their efforts to bring it together. When, however, Helfenstein offered to inform the emperor of her devout aspirations she changed the subject, being unwilling, as de Quadra supposed, to be taken at her word.<sup>20</sup> Her allusion to Christian princes and the omission to refer to the pope were significant. In Elizabeth's eyes, as in the eyes of German protestants, it was on temporal powers and not on the bishop of Rome that lay the duty of summoning councils. A few months later she discussed the question again with de Quadra. She shocked him by declining to recognize the power of general councils, but at the same time gave him some hope that she would submit to the one which was about to meet.<sup>21</sup>

This conversation took place in July, 1560, before the pope had begun to approach the protestant powers. As soon as the bull of November, 1560, had fixed a date for the meeting of the council he turned his attention towards them. The invitation of heretics and schismatics formed an essential part of his plans for the restoration of catholic unity. His proceedings were dictated by two main considerations. In the first place, as chief pastor of the church, he desired to give erring sheep every opportunity of returning to the

<sup>20</sup> Appendix 23. *Spanish Cal.*, 135.

<sup>21</sup> *Spanish Cal.*, 170. Kervyn, *Rel. Pol.*, ii. 516.

fold. Although he could not admit protestant divines to the council as voting members, he was ready to let them state their views before it, and he was eager that protestant princes should send their ambassadors to attend it. In the second place he was not unmindful of the divine command which, as he conceived, laid upon him the sterner duty of cutting off the rotten branch and casting it into the fire. But before he undertook this duty he desired to satisfy himself and the world that there was no alternative. To refuse his invitation would be so clear a proof of incurable obstinacy that it would justify him in suppressing heresy with unsparing rigour. Under the influence of these motives, as soon as the bull of November had issued he wrote letters to the protestant princes of Germany inviting them to send their ambassadors to Trent and announcing that his nuncios would visit them shortly and place his views before them.<sup>22</sup> Commendone and Delfino, the nuncios chosen, set out for Germany a few days later, and after a consultation with the emperor went on to Naumburg, where a meeting of protestant princes had been convened for the end of January.

<sup>22</sup> Sickel, *Concil von Trient*, 148.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE MISSION OF MARTINENGO

IF Pius had followed his own inclination he would have sent a nuncio to Elizabeth when Delfino and Commendone started for Germany. But Parpaglia's fiasco had warned him of the unwisdom of meddling with England without previously consulting Spain. In any case he could hardly have ignored Philip because, a few months earlier, when pressing for the recall of Parpaglia, Philip had promised to advise him as soon as a favourable opportunity should occur for approaching Elizabeth,<sup>1</sup> and again in November had informed him that the time was now come for entering into communication with her.<sup>2</sup> Pius had therefore every reason to expect that his plan of sending a nuncio to England would be welcomed by Spain. He wrote in December that he thought of entrusting the mission to Commendone and asked for Philip's advice.<sup>3</sup> This was not forthcoming till February, and when it came it contradicted the opinion which the king had given in November. Philip's change of front was due to representations from the duchess of Parma, whom he had consulted on the subject. The duchess, no doubt

<sup>1</sup> *Supra*, p. 50.

<sup>2</sup> Appendix 24.

<sup>3</sup> Appendix 24. Gherio, the bearer of the bull of November, 1560, to Spain, was also instructed to ask for counsel about England. Gachard, *Correspondance de M. d'Autriche*, i. 317. Hinojosa, *Despachos*, 130. Pollen, *Papal Negotiations*, 50.

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majority of Englishmen were catholics. Elizabeth herself is described as of good natural disposition, well inclined to the catholics and very merciful to them ; most of the nobility and all the common people are said to be attached to the old faith ; the kingdom had been ruined by a few upstarts who were indifferent to everything but their own vain-glorious fancies. The task of an envoy ought not, therefore, to be difficult. His first business would be to win over Lord Robert Dudley, Queen Elizabeth's favourite, who is described as her prospective husband, by pointing out that ruin would overtake England if it held aloof from the council, whereas by submission Elizabeth would make her throne secure and he himself would gain the esteem of neighbouring princes. The envoy would next try his skill on Cecil, urging him to illustrate his name by restoring the religion which he had destroyed. Other leading nobles would be approached by arguments of a similar kind. If Elizabeth consented to send representatives to the council the envoy would then address himself to the release of the Marian bishops and would urge her to send them to Trent in token of her submission. If this request were rejected he would pray that at any rate they might be released from prison, and if any glimmer of hope were given he would say that he had reported to the pope and could not leave England until he had seen them liberated. Meanwhile he would intimate secretly to Heath and a few other of the principal prisoners, as Boxall and Watson or Thirlby, that the pope wished them to leave the kingdom. A Flemish ship would be got ready to take them off at a preconcerted time between Billingsgate and Greenwich, and as soon as they were released

they would make their escape in it. The paper ends with the remark that in their safety lay the greatest hope of reconciling England.

In the midst of these sanguine hopes Martinengo was finally nominated. His selection took place at the end of January,<sup>8</sup> but he did not start till March. The final resolution to dispatch him was taken on a letter from the nuncio in Paris which must have reached Rome towards the end of February. In this letter the nuncio informed Borromeo, on the authority of a conversation between the earl of Bedford and Morette, the Savoyan ambassador, that Elizabeth intended, if possible, to send representatives to the council.<sup>9</sup> In the same month another French correspondent reported that Dudley had offered, if he were helped to marry Elizabeth, to restore catholicism in England after he had become king.<sup>10</sup>

Meanwhile Vargas was carrying out Philip's instructions of February. At an interview early in March he found the pope strongly bent on the dispatch of Martinengo. To his attempts at dissuasion Pius replied angrily that he had expected help and not

<sup>8</sup> On January 28 the bishop of Martorano wrote to Santa Croce, the nuncio in Portugal, from Rome : 'Sua Santità ha anche resoluto di mandare una persona in Inghilterra per invitare quella Regina al Concilio et sarà l'Abbate Martinengho.' *R. O., Roman Transcripts*, vol. 69. From *Vat. Arch., Nunt. Div.*, Tom. 107, f. 111 d.

<sup>9</sup> Bedford was in Paris in February on a special mission. He declared to de Quadra a year later that he made this statement by Elizabeth's express order. *Spanish Cal.*, 219, 222, 224.

<sup>10</sup> An unknown correspondent wrote from the French court to Borromeo on February 18 : 'Mi ero scordato nel particolare di Milort Robert che egli offerisce essendo aggiutato à conseguire il desiderio suo circa il matrimonio della Regina di far poi restituire in quel Regno la Religione Catholica.' *R. O., Roman Transcripts*, vol. 105.

hindrance from Philip, and pointed out that having sent nuncios to the princes of Germany he could not reasonably refrain from inviting Elizabeth. The ambassador objected that it would be better to shift the duty on to the shoulders of the council, and thus save the holy see from the insult to which it had been exposed in the persons of its nuncios at Naumburg.<sup>11</sup> Two days later Pius invited Vargas to a further interview in the presence of Cardinals Carpi, Morone, Farnese, and Santa Fiora, and there showed him letters from the papal nuncio in France which reported, on the authority of English informants, that Elizabeth desired to be invited like other princes.<sup>12</sup> Vargas declared, undismayed, that he did not believe them. Finally, it was agreed that Martinengo should start at once for Brussels with instructions to lodge with the Spanish ambassador during the five or six days that he would spend in England. Pius promised that the nuncio would conform to any instructions that might be given him by the duchess of Parma and de Quadra, while Vargas promised that he would not be detained in Flanders.<sup>13</sup>

In accordance with this arrangement Martinengo set out from Rome on March 14,<sup>14</sup> travelled by way of the Rhine, as Parpaglia had done, passed through Cologne on April 8,<sup>15</sup> and reached Brussels in the middle of the month.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Appendix 27. The meeting of German princes at Naumburg had refused to receive the pope's invitation.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 77, and note 9.

<sup>13</sup> Appendix 27.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup> *Miscellanea di Storia Ital.*, vi. 101.

<sup>16</sup> He had an interview with the duchess of Parma on April 20. Kervyn, *Rel. Pol.*, ii. 555.

While his dispatch was being discussed at Rome, Elizabeth and her statesmen were debating what course they should take if the council met. As we have seen above, the question had been considered intermittently in 1560.<sup>17</sup> In 1561 it formed an important part of the instructions drawn up for two missions which were undertaken at that time, one to Germany and the other to France. The first of these missions was entrusted to Mundt, the agent of England with the protestants of Germany. In the course of 1560 the principal protestant states had arranged to meet at Naumburg in January, 1561, for the purpose, partly of reconciling their confessional differences, partly of organizing a league of defence against possible catholic aggression. It was at this meeting, as has been mentioned above,<sup>18</sup> that the nuncios Delfino and Commendone invited the assembled princes to send representatives to Trent. Mundt was now directed to proceed to Naumburg, to urge the German princes to unity, and to dissuade them from taking part in a papal council unless it were held in a safe place in Germany. His instructions breathed a spirit of strong hostility to the pope, whom they accused of summoning a pretended council for the purpose of entrapping the protestants and augmenting his own authority under the cloak of a reformation of abuses.<sup>19</sup>

The meeting at Naumburg was opened on January 21, 1561; Commendone and Delfino arrived on the 28th, and on February 5 they presented the pope's letters. Pius invited the protestant states to send representatives to the council, but gave no hint of any concession to

<sup>17</sup> *Supra*, p. 69.

<sup>18</sup> *Supra*, p. 72.

<sup>19</sup> *Foreign Cal.*, 1560-1, No. 826.

protestant demands. He ignored the claim of reformers to a voice in the framing of decrees, and merely promised that all who attended would be patiently heard. To the papal briefs the princes replied by refusing to acknowledge the authority of the see of Rome and by denying the pope's right to summon a council. They did not reject a council absolutely, for they still proclaimed their desire for one, but they declined to take part in any assembly convoked by the pope in which they would have no vote.<sup>20</sup> Mundt, the English envoy, arrived at Naumburg on February 6<sup>21</sup> and delivered the message of the English government. In reply (February 8) the princes thanked him for Elizabeth's offer to keep them informed of her proceedings in regard to the council, promised to keep her similarly informed on their part, and expressed the desire that England and protestant Germany should act in unison.<sup>22</sup>

At the same time that it entered into communication with the reformers of Germany the English government attempted to enlist France also in the campaign against a papal council. Towards the end of January, 1561, instructions in this sense were given to the earl of Bedford, who was sent to France to condole on the death of Francis II<sup>23</sup> and to receive the ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh. Events in France gave peculiar importance to Bedford's mission. By the

<sup>20</sup> *Foreign Cal.*, 1560-1, No. 970, 976, 979. Calinisch, *Der Naumburger Fürstentag*, 189 sqq. *Misc. di Storia Ital.*, vi. 54 sqq.

<sup>21</sup> *Foreign Cal.*, 1561-2, No. 9.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 1560-1, No. 970. H. Heppe, *Geschichte des deutschen Protestantismus*, i., Beilagen, p. 135.

<sup>23</sup> Francis died on December 5, 1560.

death of Francis the Guises, who were the champions of orthodoxy, had lost their monopoly of power and had been compelled to yield the first place to Catherine de Médicis and the party of the princes of the blood. These latter, headed by Anthony, king of Navarre, were notoriously favourable to reform. In the reign of Francis they had maintained secret relations with Elizabeth,<sup>24</sup> and English statesmen hoped that they would now use their power to further an antipapal policy. At an interview with Throgmorton on December 23 Anthony of Navarre professed a special affection for Elizabeth as the upholder of true religion in Europe, and declared that the government of France would decline to take part in any council which was not indicted afresh and recognized by the protestant princes of Germany. The hopes which these assurances excited in Throgmorton were ardently echoed by Cecil. Now was the time, so he wrote, for Calvin and the nobles whom he inspired to set all the wheels in motion to overthrow the tyranny of the Antichrist of Rome.<sup>25</sup>

At such a juncture the choice of an envoy was a matter of importance. Bedford was well fitted for the post. He was a great noble, a man of high character, a convinced protestant, and likely to be acceptable to Catherine de Médicis as a good Italian scholar.<sup>26</sup> His instructions directed him to urge on Navarre the importance of promoting the Gospel, and to ascertain the views of the French government on the conciliar question. No good, he was to say, but rather harm would result from the summoning of a council unless it were

<sup>24</sup> De Ruble, *A. de Bourbon*, ii. 47, 140-3.

<sup>25</sup> *Foreign Cal.*, 1560-1, Nos. 832, §§ 6 and 7, and 883.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 872.

constituted after primitive models, having power over pope and cardinals and taking as its sole guide the Scripture and the ancient canons. It was incumbent on Navarre to oppose the meeting of any assembly that did not fulfil these conditions, to take the protestant princes of Germany into his confidence, and to come to no decision without informing Elizabeth.<sup>27</sup>

Bedford crossed to France at the end of January.<sup>28</sup> On February 17 he and Throgmorton delivered Elizabeth's message. They found Navarre, with whom religion was a mere cloak for ambition, much cooler than when he interviewed Throgmorton two months earlier. Contact with public affairs, from which he had been excluded till the death of Francis, had no doubt brought home to him the essential weakness of protestantism in France and had made him realize that the one object on which his heart was set, the recovery of the kingdom of Navarre, was more likely to be attained in the catholic than in the protestant camp.<sup>29</sup> He now enlarged to the English ambassadors on the difficulty of promoting reform in a country where the bulk of the people and of the governing class were catholic. As regards the council he stated that the French government intended to accept it if it were general and concurred in by the princes of Germany, with whom, and the emperor, they were consulting.<sup>30</sup> From Navarre Bedford and Throgmorton went on to Catherine de Médicis, who expressed the hope that the

<sup>27</sup> *Foreign Cal.*, 1560-1, No. 898, § 3.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 943.

<sup>29</sup> So much of the kingdom of Navarre as lay south of the Pyrenees had been conquered by Spain from Anthony's wife's grandfather, Jean d'Albret, in 1512.

<sup>30</sup> *Foreign Cal.*, 1560-1, No. 1030, §§ 5-7.

council which the pope was summoning would bring about the unity of religion which all desired. Bedford replied that such an assembly in which none but the pope and his clergy had a voice would be futile, but that if a council were convened after the primitive model the queen and the protestant princes would send their clergy to it. On this Catherine said that the assembly which the pope had summoned was being constituted in accordance with precedent, and that the French government would not accept it unless it were free and general. They desired to move in line with the emperor and the princes of Germany.<sup>31</sup> At a later interview (February 19) Bedford and Throgmorton asked Catherine point-blank whether, if the protestant states refused to attend the council, the French government were minded to send their clergy to assist. Catherine replied that they would follow the example of the emperor and the empire, and that they would give Elizabeth a definite answer in due course.<sup>32</sup>

This reply was cold comfort to Throgmorton,<sup>33</sup> but the next day (Feb. 20) he received a more encouraging message from the duchess of Ferrara. The duchess was a strong protestant, who after suffering persecution for her faith in Italy had come to pass the end of her life in France. As daughter of Louis XII and mother-in-law of the duke of Guise, she was a person of importance, notwithstanding her heretical opinions. She now informed Throgmorton that Catherine, impressed by his arguments, was wavering in her determination. It was greatly to be desired, the duchess said, that the German princes should act as Elizabeth had done.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, §§ 10-13.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, § 21.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 1032.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 1030, § 25.

Taking the hint Bedford and Throgmorton at once dispatched Tremellius<sup>35</sup> to the princes of the confession of Augsburg with the request that they would send an emissary to France to dissuade the French government from recognizing the council.<sup>36</sup> Tremellius duly performed the task and returned to Paris in May. No German emissary accompanied him, but he brought letters from the Elector Palatine and the duke of Würtemberg, urging the French government to take no part in the assembly which the pope had summoned.<sup>37</sup> Neither the messages of the Germans nor the solicitations of Bedford, however, made any serious impression on the French government, which had announced all along its intention to recognize the council if the emperor and the king of Spain did so too. For all their smooth words Catherine de Médicis and the king of Navarre had no intention of passing from the catholic to the protestant camp. So far as religion was concerned, the mission of Bedford was a failure.

In the negotiations with France and Germany, of which a summary is given above, Elizabeth took up a position of decisive hostility to a council organized on traditional lines. But at the same time as her ambassadors abroad were striving to unite England, France,

<sup>35</sup> Tremellius was a Hebrew scholar who was in Paris on a mission to secure toleration for the protestants in Metz. He had been reader in Hebrew at Cambridge in the reign of Edward VI. *Dic. Nat. Biog.* (1909), xix. 1113.

<sup>36</sup> *Foreign Cal.*, 1560-1, No. 1020, 1022, 1030, § 25. Kluckhohn, *Briefe Friedrich des Frommen*, i. 169.

<sup>37</sup> *Foreign Cal.*, 1561-2, Nos. 189, 197, 208, § 5. Heidenhain, *Unionspolitik*, 296.

and protestant Germany in opposition to Rome, she and her ministers at home were negotiating with Spain in a more friendly spirit, holding out hopes of reconciliation and professing readiness to send representatives to the assembly which was about to meet at Trent. The explanation of this apparent contradiction is to be found partly in Elizabeth's unwillingness to commit herself absolutely to a policy which would alienate Spain, partly to her infatuation for Lord Robert Dudley. It is now necessary to narrate the course of events in which this new phase of policy was developed.

Lord Robert Dudley, fifth son of that duke of Northumberland who had suffered death as a traitor in 1553, had been singled out for special favour by Elizabeth from the earliest days of her reign. She showed her fondness for him so openly that no one doubted that she would marry him if she followed her inclination; and many believed that he was already her secret lover. An obstacle, however, existed to their union in Amy Robsart, Dudley's wife, who lived remote from the court at Cumnor place, a Berkshire manor house. On September 8, 1560, she was found dead with her neck broken at the foot of a staircase. This opportune tragedy was commonly regarded as a prelude to Dudley's marriage with Elizabeth, which rumour now represented, sometimes as immediately impending, sometimes as actually accomplished.

In order to secure the prize which seemed so nearly within his reach, Dudley resolved in January, 1561, to appeal to Spain for help. His plan was to buy Philip's support; if Philip would help him to marry Elizabeth he would bring England back to communion with Rome.

This cynical bargain was proposed by Sir Henry Sidney, Dudley's brother-in-law, to de Quadra in the middle of January, Sidney declaring with solemn oaths that Elizabeth and Dudley were resolved to restore religion by means of a general council. De Quadra replied, as be-fitted a good Christian, that religious duty was independent of temporal advantage ; if Elizabeth's conscience impelled her to restore catholicism, she was bound to obey it regardless of all other considerations. Having had experience a year earlier of the danger of negotiating with her through third parties, he refused to move Philip to promote the marriage unless she asked him to do so herself.<sup>38</sup> Here the matter rested for a month. On February 13 Dudley himself approached de Quadra, who now became more pliable. He promised that when he next saw Elizabeth he would urge marriage on her in general terms, and would speak in Dudley's favour if she mentioned his name. Two days later the conversation took place. De Quadra started the subject of marriage, Elizabeth confided to him her affection for Dudley, and the ambassador expressed himself in favour of the match. Nothing was said about religion ; but the next day Dudley made the most profuse protestations to de Quadra, offering to place England entirely in Philip's hands and to go himself as her representative to the Council of Trent.<sup>39</sup> A fortnight earlier the queen herself had been talking in quite an orthodox way of her desire to submit to whatever should be declared by a general council to be the universal judgement of the church. These sentiments were not at all to Cecil's taste. When the earl of Pembroke, who posed as a catholic, was praising

<sup>38</sup> *Spanish Cal.*, 178, 196.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 181.

Elizabeth's determination in his presence, the secretary replied that if the nobles of the kingdom were as obedient to the queen as their duty required there would be no need to send out of the country to settle their religious difficulties.<sup>40</sup>

In March Philip replied to the letter in which de Quadra had reported Sidney's offer of January. Philip did not share his ambassador's reluctance to mix religion with politics. He remarked that it was in the power of God to extract good from evil, and was quite ready to make his support of the match depend on the restoration of catholicism. But he required Elizabeth to give proof of her sincerity. He disbelieved absolutely in her good faith, and feared lest she should repudiate her part of the bargain after he had performed his. He therefore demanded pledges before he made promises. She must release the Marian bishops, grant toleration to the catholics, undertake to send her ambassadors and catholic bishops to the council, and promise to submit unconditionally to its decrees. While these steps were being taken negotiations for the marriage could proceed.<sup>41</sup> At the same time that he sent these instructions to de Quadra, Philip made a second attempt to detain Martinengo.<sup>42</sup> He believed that in Dudley's intrigue he possessed a means of bringing Elizabeth down definitely on the catholic side, but he feared that the arrival of a nuncio at a critical moment might endanger the success of his negotiation. His first aim was to make her commit herself irretrievably. Then and not till then would the time be opportune for the appear-

<sup>40</sup> Kervyn, *Rel. Pol.*, ii. 692.

<sup>41</sup> *Spanish Cal.*, 185.

<sup>42</sup> The first had been made in February (*supra*, pp. 74, 77).

ance of a papal envoy. Accordingly, on March 19, before he had learnt of Martinengo's departure, he wrote to Vargas that a new situation of great importance to religion had arisen in England. The ambassador must therefore press the pope to detain Martinengo, assigning as a reason that if the new situation developed as Philip hoped, the prospects of the nuncio's success would be greatly improved. If Martinengo had already started the pope was to be urged to detain him in Flanders until Granvelle gave him leave to cross over. In anticipation of orders from Rome, so Vargas was to continue, Philip had directed Granvelle to keep the abbot back for the present.<sup>43</sup> Vargas carried out these orders early in April. He found the long-suffering pope extremely unwilling to comply with the Spanish king's wishes. The reluctance of Pius is not surprising. He was given no hint of the nature of the new development in England, but was merely told that a mysterious something was happening which was likely to be beneficial to catholicism. At first he rejected Philip's request with indignation. It was impossible, he said, to stop Martinengo without shame and dishonour to himself, since the arrangements for the council were far advanced, and the queen of England herself desired to receive an invitation. Vargas in reply insisted on the zeal of Philip, and pointed out that it was not proposed to recall but merely to delay Martinengo. He was, however, unable to prevail on the pope, who referred the matter to Carpi, Morone, Farnese, and Santa Fiora, the cardinals who had advised him a month earlier.

<sup>43</sup> Appendix 28. Weiss, *Papiers d'État de Granvelle*, vi. 299.

This committee supported Pius in his determination, and Carpi was instructed to acquaint Vargas with its decision. The ambassador refused to take his answer from a cardinal, and sent an arrogant message to Pius that in the business of his master he insisted on dealing with the pope alone. At the interview which then took place Pius reluctantly gave way, declaring that he did so out of regard for Philip, and exacting a promise from Vargas to keep the matter a profound secret. On the following day, in the presence of Borromeo and Vargas, he dictated a letter to Martinengo, commanding him to remain in Flanders on some plausible excuse, such as illness, until he received further instructions from Rome or was authorized by Granvelle to proceed on his mission. This letter was dispatched from Rome on April 12, 1561.<sup>44</sup>

As has been mentioned above,<sup>45</sup> Philip had written to de Quadra in March, setting out the conditions on which he would support Elizabeth's marriage with Dudley. While his letter was on its way, Elizabeth and her advisers were considering plans for utilizing his support as soon as a promise of it should be received. Cecil himself, although he must have abhorred the match, was the bearer of proposals to de Quadra for bringing it to pass. In a long conversation with the ambassador (March, 1561), he stated it to be the queen's desire that Philip should write a letter urging her to marry an English noble. This letter was to be laid before a meeting of notables, packed in Dudley's favour, consisting of three bishops, six peers, and ten or twelve representatives of the commons, and the meeting was to recommend Dudley

<sup>44</sup> Appendix 29.

<sup>45</sup> p. 87.

to Elizabeth as a suitable choice. De Quadra disliked the plan, which he described as a device for keeping Elizabeth bound to the heretics. His dislike gives the key to Cecil's real object. Not being strong enough to oppose the match openly, Cecil evidently intended to minimize its evil results, and to obtain securities for the maintenance of the recent religious settlement in exchange for consent to the marriage.<sup>46</sup>

In this conversation the question of religion was untouched, but at other times Cecil repeatedly forced the subject on de Quadra, making various suggestions for reunion. On one occasion he proposed that the pope should send theologians to England to confer with English divines, on another that de Quadra himself should meet Parker, the archbishop, with a view to negotiating;<sup>47</sup> finally, he stated the conditions on which Elizabeth was prepared to recognize the council. She was willing that the pope should preside, but merely as an ornamental head, and she demanded that the place of meeting should be approved by France, Spain, and the emperor, that her bishops, having been canonically ordained, should sit and vote like other bishops, and that all questions should be decided by the Bible, the consensus of divines, and the first four councils.<sup>48</sup>

How far Cecil was sincere in his proposals to negotiate a reunion privately it is impossible to say. Most

<sup>46</sup> *Spanish Cal.*, 188.

<sup>47</sup> It is, perhaps, in connexion with this proposed conference that Parker wrote a curious letter to Cecil, begging to be excused from an oral disputation but declaring his readiness to meet de Quadra on paper. (*Strype, Parker*, iii. 355.)

<sup>48</sup> *Spanish Cal.*, 189, 190.

probably they were devices for what he would have called 'tracting time'. That part of the conversation which referred to the council of Trent has a special interest as showing how far Elizabeth was prepared, or professed to be prepared, to advance on the path of reconciliation with Rome. The conditions which Cecil proposed have a superficial appearance of concession, and they yielded far more than the German protestants were prepared to grant. But essentially they held fast to the reformed position. The appeal to the Bible and early councils was in effect a denial of the authority of councils, since it left a loophole for refusing to accept any decree which in Elizabeth's judgement might be inconsistent with those standards. Similarly the condition that the pope should preside, but should not rule over the assembly, amounted to what Cecil on another occasion described as keeping the kernel and leaving his opponent with the shell.<sup>49</sup> Exactly the same points had been insisted on in Bedford's instructions,<sup>50</sup> although now the antagonism was less crudely expressed. But there was no real difference between Elizabeth's attitude in January and her attitude in March. The third condition, that the new bishops should be admitted to the council, was a further proof of irreconcilable differences. Elizabeth's bishops personified the change in religion which she had carried out two years earlier. From the Roman point of view they were intruding heretics, whose proper place was not the council but the

<sup>49</sup> Haynes, *State Papers*, 352.

<sup>50</sup> *Supra*, p. 81. It is curious that much the same demands were presented to the nuncio Delfino by the German theologians, Sturm and Zanchius, in May-June, 1561. Pallavicino, *Concilio di Trento* (1833), iii. 337.

stake. The demand for their admission meant that Elizabeth held fast to her religious settlement. Reconciliation with Rome, if reconciliation there was to be, must adapt itself to the new order which she had introduced. Cecil's proposals to de Quadra are nevertheless noteworthy, since they represent the high-water mark of effort for reunion with Rome during Elizabeth's reign. Little though she was prepared to yield, it was more than was ever again proposed on her behalf.

At the beginning of April de Quadra received Philip's letter of March directing him to demand definite pledges from Elizabeth. The order was distasteful to him, for the letter gave him no authority to promise Philip's support to the marriage even in exchange for the pledges, and he feared that if he pressed the queen too closely the negotiations would collapse; he was influenced further by his old objection to mixing politics with religion. He therefore resolved to evade his instructions, making Martinengo's mission a pretext. His plan, as he put it to Granvelle, was to have done with words and come to deeds, to bring Martinengo over and to make his reception the test of Elizabeth's sincerity. If she received him suitably she would have given a proof of good faith, and Philip could proceed to help her in her marriage. If she drew back Philip would still be free to act as he saw best in the question of the marriage, and the unseemly combination of spiritual with temporal objects would be avoided. He therefore said nothing about pledges to Elizabeth, and requested Granvelle to send Martinengo over as soon as he reached Brussels. In anticipation of the nuncio's arrival he hired a lodging for him at Greenwich, where the queen was about to take up her quarters. He

regarded it as of good omen that at this time an apartment at court adjoining that of the queen was given to Dudley, and he delighted the latter by assuring him of Philip's friendly feelings. Dudley showed his gratitude by informing the ambassador that no difficulty would be made about admitting the nuncio, that Cecil was firm in his resolution to send representatives to the council, and that some of the protestant bishops were beginning to yield to the queen's wishes.<sup>51</sup> Encouraged by these favourable symptoms, de Quadra began to be sanguine of success. It was important, so he wrote to Granvelle, that the nuncio should show himself very pliable in unessentials so long as Elizabeth consented to send representatives to the council, for on whatever terms the promise was made it would enrage the heretics, and might possibly lead to their overthrow.<sup>52</sup> On the following day (April 13) de Quadra had an interview with Elizabeth, whom he found apparently well disposed towards the nuncio, but anxious to be assured that he had no other object in coming than to invite her to the council. De Quadra replied in the affirmative, and Elizabeth then made the ominous remark that if he came Martinengo would be received merely as ambassador of the bishop of Rome, since the laws of England denied to the pope the title of supreme or universal bishop. De Quadra answered with some heat that he had received no specific orders yet about Martinengo, but that if Elizabeth desired to be joined to the universal church it was futile for her to raise doubts about what was beyond doubt, namely the universality of the pope's episcopacy, the distinction

<sup>51</sup> *Spanish Cal.*, 191. Kervyn, *Rel. Pol.*, ii. 545, 546.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, ii. 547.

of spiritual and temporal powers, and the authority of the church and councils. Elizabeth repeated her remark about the laws of England, but nevertheless declared herself anxious for reunion and gratified at the coming of a nuncio.<sup>53</sup> De Quadra left her ill-pleased at what he called her new punctilio. He continued the conversation with Cecil, who raised the same difficulty. The ambassador remarked that, though he spoke without instructions, the wisest plan, in his judgement, was to admit Martinengo without using expressions obnoxious to either side, and to deal with the point when he came. Cecil replied that if the negotiations failed it would not be his fault; he had already incurred the suspicion of the Anglican bishops as a man who was treating with Spain for the re-establishment of the papacy in England. He was in favour of negotiating with de Quadra in the same way as in temporal matters, to the exclusion of theologians, who were blindly obstinate and bent on nothing but wrangling. Finally he said that the pope was deceiving himself if he supposed that England would receive all the abuses of the court of Rome; Elizabeth could not bring that to pass even if she wished, but an agreement ought not to suffer shipwreck over a few rites and unimportant matters. This, Cecil said, was his opinion, and Elizabeth thought so too. Here the conversation ended, leaving de Quadra hopeful but not confident.<sup>54</sup> He had indeed small ground for confidence. Protestations of readiness to receive the nuncio were of little value when hedged about by the conditions which were implied in Elizabeth's and Cecil's remarks. No reunion was possible so long as England refused to

<sup>53</sup> Kervyn, *Rel. Pol.*, ii. 548, 549.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 552.

regard the pope as anything more than a very eminent bishop, while the unimportant matters to which Cecil referred in an airy way would probably have been found on examination to be such questions as the worship of images, the sacrifice of the mass, and transubstantiation, all of them points which large bodies of men, whether on the side of Rome or of reform, regarded as admitting of no compromise.

## CHAPTER V

### THE MISSION OF MARTINENGO (*concluded*)

WHILE de Quadra was labouring to smooth the path of the nuncio in England, Martinengo himself had arrived at Brussels. The instructions which he brought from Rome directed him to wait there for a safe-conduct which would be procured for him by the Spanish ambassador. When he had received it he was to cross to England and execute his mission. In order to preserve himself from all suspicion of meddling in temporal affairs he was forbidden to lodge with any foreign ambassador. But he was to communicate his commission to the Spanish and French ambassadors and to learn their views. When he delivered his message to Elizabeth he was to enter her presence alone, to deliver to her the bull of November, 1560, and a brief from the pope inviting her to send her ambassadors to the council, to exhort her paternally to accept an invitation of such vital importance to her own soul and the souls of her people, and to promise her, if she assented, any sort of favour from his holiness. He was instructed further to do what he could to secure the release of the imprisoned bishops, but he was to avoid this and other thorny topics until the main object of his mission had been attained, lest the presentation of several demands simultaneously should lead Elizabeth to reject them all.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Hardwicke State Papers*, i. 184. Kervyn, *Rel. Pol.*, ii. 556.

The papal brief which Martinengo was instructed to present to Elizabeth was drawn up, like Parpaglia's missive of a year earlier, in gentle and persuasive language. Although it was never delivered, it is necessary to examine it closely in order to understand the attitude of the pope towards England. Addressing Elizabeth as his dearest daughter in Christ, Pius informed her that his mind had long dwelt on the need of a council in order to bring back the lost sheep of Christendom to the true fold. After advising with those princes whom it was necessary to consult, and after hearing that they approved of the choice of Trent, he had summoned the council to assemble there. He now exhorted her to send her ambassadors, and told her that she would learn from Martinengo how earnestly he longed for her return to catholic unity. He implored her to do her duty as a Christian queen, and to send her ambassadors with the intention of subsequently enforcing in her kingdom the decrees which the council might enact. Finally he promised that if she returned to the bosom of the church he would receive her as his beloved daughter and would promote with paternal care whatever might be necessary to the maintenance of her royal dignity and the peace of her kingdom.<sup>2</sup>

In this letter Pius spoke as the father of Christen-

Pallavicino, iii. 314. A. O. Meyer, *England und die katholische Kirche*, 405, 407. The order to lodge with the Spanish ambassador which the pope promised to give Martinengo (*supra*, p. 78) must, if the promise was kept, have been given subsequently to these instructions.

<sup>2</sup> Appendix 30. Dr. Meyer is mistaken in saying (*op. cit.*, 407, note 5) that this brief was the brief of May 5, 1560, which Parpaglia carried.

dom exhorting an erring member of his flock. There was no hint of concession in the sphere of religion, no suggestion that the changes which had recently been introduced into England deserved, or would receive, consideration. The whole tenor of the letter implied the contrary. The reference to previous consultations in which she had had no share told the queen that her part was not to advise but to obey, and the hint was made plainer by the exhortation to enforce the decrees of Trent in her kingdom. She was invited to send ambassadors not because the pope contemplated treating with her on religion, but because he wished to commit her beforehand to the determinations of the council. The omission of any reference to English bishops was significant. The briefs to catholic powers had invited them to arrange for the attendance of their bishops.<sup>3</sup> No such request was made to Elizabeth. Parker and his colleagues would obviously not be admitted to a Roman assembly, and it would have been treading on too dangerous ground to ask Elizabeth to send their Marian predecessors, whom she was keeping in prison. The point was left for Martinengo to handle when he should have obtained admission and felt his ground.<sup>4</sup> The last part of the brief promised Elizabeth a reward for submission. If she would return to the church Pius would help her to maintain her royal dignity; in other words, he would cure the defects of her title. The offer was not attractive. The only way in which the pope could confirm her title was by declaring that, though illegitimate, she was nevertheless lawful queen.

<sup>3</sup> Baronius (Raynaldus), *Annales*, xxxiv. 97.

<sup>4</sup> See his instructions, *supra*, p. 96, and his questions to Morone, Meyer, *op. cit.*, 405.

Such a declaration, while it would have illustrated the power of the papacy, would have added no strength to Elizabeth's position in England, where all protestants and many catholics abhorred papal interference in secular affairs.

We now return to Martinengo. He had an interview with the duchess of Parma on April 20, informed her of his instructions, and asked her to procure him a safe-conduct. Having been convinced by de Quadra's arguments of the importance of sending the nuncio over at once, the duchess disregarded Philip's orders to detain him and wrote to de Quadra on the 21st for the safe-conduct.<sup>5</sup>

When she wrote she had good reason to expect a favourable answer. But since de Quadra had sent his hopeful message on April 14 an apparently unimportant incident had brought about a complete change in the attitude of the English government. Some time in April a priest named Coxe or Devon set out from London for Flanders. On his arrival at Gravesend on April 13 his luggage was searched in ordinary course by the customs officers, and in it were found a rosary and a breviary. Regarding these objects with suspicion, the customs officers sent Coxe to Hugh Darrell, a justice of the peace for Kent, before whom he made a statement next day accusing Sir Thomas Wharton and Sir Edward Waldegrave, late members of Queen Mary's government, and several other persons, of hearing mass, possessing catholic service books, and practising rites of the old religion. He made the further admission that Waldegrave had given him

<sup>5</sup> Kervyn, *Rel. Pol.*, ii. 555.

twenty shillings and had promised him £10 a year 'for his exhibicon', to be paid to him abroad by Sir Francis Englefield.<sup>6</sup>

These disclosures were not in themselves very serious. The hearing of mass in corners, to use a contemporary expression, was a common practice, often winked at by the government. At this very time the catholics were freer from persecution than they had been at any period since the passing of the act of uniformity. In London they had just passed through Easter, usually a trying time, without molestation.<sup>7</sup> The facts which Coxe had revealed were a natural consequence of the leniency of the government. But Cecil saw in them a providential instrument for disappointing the hopes of Spain and Rome. The influence which de Quadra had recently gained over the queen might be destroyed if it could be shown that practices forbidden by the law were becoming common and that plans to which de Quadra was a party were being formed for the restoration of the old religion.<sup>8</sup> Accordingly, as soon as Coxe's deposition reached London energetic measures were taken to follow it up. Coxe himself was examined by Grindal, bishop of London, on April 17, and orders were sent to the earl of Oxford, Lord Lieutenant of Essex, to search the houses of Wharton and Waldegrave and arrest them and the other persons whom Coxe had betrayed. As a result of these orders a number of persons were sent to the Tower and other prisons of London on April 20. Among them were two priests who were led through

<sup>6</sup> *R. O., S. P. Dom., Eliz.*, xvi, No. 49. Kervyn, *Rel. Pol.*, ii. 553.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, ii. 558. *Spanish Cal.*, 192.

<sup>8</sup> *Foreign Cal.*, 1561-2, No. 187, § 2.

the streets amid the jeers of the mob.<sup>9</sup> On the same day Lord Hastings of Loughborough, another of Mary's old councillors, was committed to the custody of the earl of Pembroke, and Arthur Pole, nephew of Cardinal Pole and a scion of the blood royal, was sent to the Fleet. At the same time several priests were arrested on a charge of working spells to compass the queen's death.<sup>10</sup> The suspicions of the government were further sharpened by the discovery of letters in Waldegrave's house which, as Oxford put it, created 'presumpcons of some myndes and doinges towardes the state and governement'. In one of these letters a servant of Waldegrave informed his master, on the authority of a conversation with Heath, ex-archbishop of York, that the bishops hoped soon to be released by the good offices of the nuncio and de Quadra, who would put pressure on the queen to send representatives to the council, release the bishops, and let catholics live according to their conscience.<sup>11</sup> Another intercepted letter from one of the prisoners spoke of similar hopes of deliverance by the same agency.<sup>12</sup> In consequence of these discoveries their seclusion was made stricter, and they were subjected to a searching ex-

<sup>9</sup> Kervyn, *Rel. Pol.*, ii. 557. *R. O.*, *S. P. Dom.*, *Eliz.*, xvi, No. 49, ii.

<sup>10</sup> British Museum, Add. MS. 35830, No. 25, p. 77. *Spanish Cal.*, 208. Kervyn, *Rel. Pol.*, ii. 561. De Quadra says that Pole was arrested nominally for hearing mass, but really because he was about to marry the sister of the earl of Northumberland, a catholic. The government suspected that the match covered a plan for enforcing Pole's claims as representative of the house of York.

<sup>11</sup> Kervyn, *Rel. Pol.*, ii. 560. *R. O.*, *S. P. Dom.*, *Eliz.*, xvi, No. 50.

<sup>12</sup> Kervyn, *Rel. Pol.*, ii. 553.

amination. Among the questions asked them were, what they had heard about the council since Christmas, what help they had received since their imprisonment and from whom, and what communications had reached them as to the probability of an alteration of religion. Not content with examining them on recent events, the government sought for information as to the deliberations for excluding Elizabeth from the throne to which they were supposed to have been parties in the last year of Mary's reign.<sup>13</sup> Their answers have not survived, but the questions show the direction in which Cecil was working. He desired to show that a project was on foot for restoring the old religion, and that Waldegrave, Wharton, and Hastings, old councillors of Mary, the imprisoned bishops, and de Quadra were concerned in it. When the nuncio came over the protestant party would be overthrown and Elizabeth would be forced to return to the communion of Rome. Plans of this kind were no doubt floating in the minds of many catholics, to whose hopes de Quadra gave expression when he said that if Elizabeth could be induced to accept the invitation of the nuncio the ruin of the heretics would probably follow. But the catholics had gone no farther than talking and hoping; they looked to Spain and Rome for the realization of their dreams, and had made no plan to strike a blow for themselves. Nevertheless for those who were attached

<sup>13</sup> *R. O., S. P. Dom., Eliz.*, xvi, Nos. 66, 67. This document consists of a series of interrogatories headed 'articles to be ministered to the persons imprisoned'. These last words are in Cecil's handwriting, and there are also additions by him in the interrogatories. The bishops are not mentioned by name, but the nature of the questions asked makes it certain that they were among the persons questioned.

to the established order enough had been discovered to demonstrate the unwisdom of admitting a nuncio. Hopes pass easily into acts, and no one could foresee what might happen if a rallying-point were provided in the person of Martinengo.

A curious episode which occurred about this time illustrates the nature of the government's fears. Some time in the spring of 1561—the exact date is unknown—news reached the government of the alleged appearance of a miraculous cross in a tree that had been struck by lightning in Sir Thomas Stradling's park at St. Donats in Glamorganshire.<sup>14</sup> Sir Thomas was a person of consequence, who had been sheriff of his county in 1548, had represented Sussex boroughs in two parliaments of Mary, and had been member of a heresy commission in 1557. He was connected with the powerful earl of Arundel,<sup>15</sup> and it was probably as the earl's nominee that he sat in parliament.<sup>16</sup> In 1559 two of his daughters went abroad with Lady Dormer and her daughter, the countess of Feria.<sup>17</sup> The facts of the miraculous occurrence were as follows. On some unascertained date, reported variously as Easter, 1559, and as four or five years previous to June, 1561, an ash tree in Stradling's park was split down the middle in a storm; one half fell, the other half

<sup>14</sup> It is possible that Cecil heard of this incident in April, in which case it no doubt influenced his policy with reference to Martinengo, but it is more probable that it did not come to his knowledge till May.

<sup>15</sup> The countess of Arundel, who died in 1557, had been his first cousin.

<sup>16</sup> Dallaway, *Sussex* (1832), ii. Pt. i. 207.

<sup>17</sup> *R. O., S. P. Dom., Eliz., Add.*, ix, No. 43.

remained erect, exposing the heart of the tree. On the inner wood there appeared the picture of a cross, fourteen inches long, plainly discernible by its colour which was darker than the grain of the surrounding surface. When at St. Donats during Easter, 1560, Stradling saw the wonder and 'toke the mesure ther of, and pricked the forme of hyt with a penn', i. e. made a copy. This he took back to London and had four copies made, of which he sent one to his daughter at Louvain and gave two to friends. These facts having come to the knowledge of the government Stradling was arrested,<sup>18</sup> and orders were sent down in May to four Welsh justices to hold an inquiry. They were instructed to cut the 'upper croste', i. e. the surface on which the cross appeared, out of the tree, 'so as yt myght appere unto us what shape sholde be undernethe the same', to investigate all the circumstances of the appearance, and to report 'what tauke (talk) the sayd Sir Thomas hath uttered of the same, to whome and wyt whatt wordes, and what opinion or prophesies have ben spred abrod in thatt contre and by whome, and who have resortyd thether as pylgrymes or otherwyse to gase upon the same, and by whose exhortacon or procurement'. The justices were further required to certify whether any masses or abolished rites had been celebrated in Stradling's house or in the neighbourhood. They examined five witnesses who deposed to the appearance of the cross on the cloven tree. One witness stated that about the time when the tree was struck 'serthen maydens of the towne of Cowbryge (Cowbridge) a boutes thatt tyme came unto the sayd parke

<sup>18</sup> He was committed to the Tower on May 28, 1561. *Cath. Rec. Soc.*, i. 21, 45, 52, 55.

to gase upon the sayd pycture'. Beyond this statement the investigation disclosed nothing as to popular interest in the miracle or as to the celebration of rites forbidden by the act of uniformity. In their report the justices took no notice of the council's inquiry in this direction. The government nevertheless kept Sir Thomas Stradling in the Tower until October, 1563, when he was released on giving a bond for 1,000 marks (£666 13*s.* 4*d.*) to appear when called on.<sup>19</sup> He does not seem to have been indicted for any specific offence, but was kept in prison by a tyrannical exercise of absolute power.<sup>20</sup> The proceedings of the government in his case indicate the direction of its fears. Amid a population strongly attached to the old religion, as the Welsh were, an attractive miracle might easily bring crowds together and might possibly become the starting-point of an insurrection. Stradling's action in having pictures made of the cross, and more especially in sending one to Louvain, the head-quarters of the English exiles for religion, was proof, to a suspicious government, that he wished to use the miracle to its detriment. As a matter of fact it was so used five years later, when an

<sup>19</sup> For these facts see T. G. Law in the *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, i. 513, and *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 3rd series, xi. 33, where the original documents are printed.

<sup>20</sup> In a list of prisoners drawn up in 1561 he is entered by Cecil as a prisoner 'for mass'. (*Cath. Rec. Soc.*, i. 52.) In a report written in 1561 by Sanders, the famous Roman controversialist, for the information of Cardinal Morone, he is referred to as recently thrown into prison because he was said to have heard mass. (*Ibid.*, 21, 45.) A few years later he himself stated that he had been kept in prison for refusing to take an oath signifying his approval of the established religion. (*Arch. Camb.*, loc. cit.) The writer in *Arch. Camb.* seems, therefore, to be mistaken in stating that he was convicted for having caused copies of the cross to be made. (*Ibid.*)

account of the incident was published at Antwerp in Nicholas Harpsfield's *Dialogi Sex*, with a picture of the cross, no doubt taken from one of the copies which Stradling had procured, and a glowing account of the excitement which the miracle had caused.<sup>21</sup>

It was not from England only that warnings came of the danger of admitting Martinengo. Ireland also furnished arguments for excluding him. In 1560 David Wolf, a native of Limerick, who had spent many years in Italy as a member of the Society of Jesus, was chosen by his general, Laynez, at the request of the pope and Cardinal Morone, to perform the duties of an apostolic commissary in Ireland.<sup>22</sup> The objects of his mission were spiritual, to superintend the religious life of the country, to report on the bishops and clergy, to recommend suitable persons for bishoprics, to reconcile schismatics and heretics, and to grant dispensations. Furnished with faculties from the pope, Wolf set out from Rome in August, 1560, and after a journey which for unknown reasons was protracted for several months arrived at Cork on January 20, 1561. Soon after he landed he sent notices throughout the country announcing his arrival, and people flocked to him in crowds to confess their sins, receive absolution, and obtain dispensations for irregular marriages. So great was his activity that within six months of landing he had cured the defects of more than one thousand technically incestuous unions.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>21</sup> *Dialogi Sex*, Antwerp, 1566, p. 504. *Arch. Cambrensis, loc. cit.*

<sup>22</sup> In the correspondence of the period Wolf is commonly termed a nuncio, or even legate. In a document of 1563 he describes himself as 'commissarius'. E. P. Shirley, *Original Letters*, 128.

<sup>23</sup> Moran, *Catholic Archbishops*, I. ii. 415, 417. Hogan, *Ibernia Ignatiana*, 11, 12. A. Bellesheim, *Geschichte der katholischen Kirche*

The arrival of Wolf cannot have remained long unknown to the English government,<sup>24</sup> and could hardly fail to excite its alarm. Although his objects were spiritual, his mission was necessarily hostile to a government which it ignored. First among its purposes, as recorded in a memorandum drawn up at Rome, was to visit the leaders of the catholics, and especially the four principal nobles,<sup>25</sup> to commend them in the pope's name for their zeal and constancy in the catholic religion, and to encourage them to persevere.<sup>26</sup> His arrival anticipated by a few months the outbreak of Shan O'Neill's rebellion, for which the government were preparing in the spring of 1561. It was inevitable that English statesmen should connect his mission with Shan's proceedings and should regard his presence in Ireland as a patent proof of the pope's ill-will. Taken together with the recent discoveries in Essex it furnished Cecil with solid arguments against a pro-Roman policy.

His efforts were further supported by evidence that the leading nobles would not easily be persuaded to countenance a match with Dudley. At the annual meeting of the knights of the Garter which was held about April 23,<sup>27</sup> the earl of Sussex proposed that the knights

*in Irland*, ii. 137. *R. O., Rom. Transcripts*, vol. 41, p. 21. From Vatican archives, Arm. 64. T. 28, f. 118.

<sup>24</sup> In a letter of October 12, 1561, Wolf says 'non vi sia persona heretica nè cattolica [in Hibernia] che non sa del mio venire perche ho mandato un edetto publico per tutta la patria'. Moran, *op. cit.*, p. 419.

<sup>25</sup> Their names are not mentioned. Presumably Kildare, Desmond, Ormond, and O'Neill are meant.

<sup>26</sup> Moran, *Catholic Archbishops*, *loc. cit.*

<sup>27</sup> Eleven knights were present at the ceremonies of the order, the

should recommend it in a body to Elizabeth.<sup>28</sup> The suggestion found no favour. Montagu and Arundel, strong catholics, and Norfolk, a lukewarm protestant, opposed it although they must have known that Spain favoured the match and that Dudley had promised to restore catholicism. They preferred to sacrifice their religion rather than see the queen married to the least among themselves. The proposal was accordingly rejected, and it was decided instead to petition Elizabeth in general terms to marry. With the ill-temper which such requests always excited she replied that since they pressed her so earnestly she would take a husband, but in doing so she would follow the taste of no one but herself.<sup>29</sup> These brave words veiled defeat. Without an assurance of support from her catholic nobles she could not venture on marriage with Dudley. The disappointment of her hopes reacted on her feelings towards religion and made her all the more ready to listen to Cecil's arguments against a pro-Roman policy. Before the end of April he had persuaded her to refuse admission to Martinengo.

The change of policy was quickly made apparent to de Quadra. On April 25 he had an interview with Cecil, hoping to arrange for the grant of a safe-conduct. He showed Cecil a copy of the pope's brief in order to

duke of Norfolk, the marquis of Nottingham, the earls of Sussex, Pembroke, Derby, and Arundel, Viscount Montagu, Lords Howard of Effingham, Paget and Clinton, and Lord Robert Dudley. The earl of Shrewsbury and Lord Hunsdon were elected knights on this occasion. (Bodleian Library, *Ashmole MS.*, 1108, p. 2.)

<sup>28</sup> Sussex was brother-in-law of Sir Henry Sidney, who in turn was brother-in-law of Dudley.

<sup>29</sup> Appendix 31. Froude, *History* (Cabinet edn.), vi. 487.

prove that Elizabeth was addressed with correct titles, and assured him that the nuncio had no other mission than to invite her to the council. Cecil replied that recent events had made it difficult, or rather impossible, to admit a nuncio. An extensive conspiracy, or at any rate preparations for one, had been discovered, a papal legate was stirring up rebellion in Ireland, and similar designs were believed to be harboured by Martinengo, who would not have asked for a safe-conduct if he had dared to enter England without one. De Quadra replied by disclaiming all knowledge of Ireland and by pointing out that Martinengo's safe-conduct could be granted in terms which made it void if he approached any other topic than the council. Cecil then attacked the ambassador directly, accusing him of spreading the report that prisoners for religion would shortly be released and the mass restored. De Quadra admitted having said that he hoped the prisoners would be released and freedom of conscience granted pending the decision of the council; and he reminded Cecil of the promises which Cecil had made in previous conversations. The secretary justified himself with the remark that the pope was stirring rebellion in the queen's dominions and must be regarded as an enemy.<sup>30</sup> A few days later de Quadra saw Elizabeth, who reproached him with being a party to reports that she intended to turn catholic at the instance of Dudley. She was, or affected to be, undecided about the nuncio's visit, and said that the question of his admission or exclusion would be determined on a consideration of the public safety. When de Quadra taxed her with her recent promise to restore religion with the help of

<sup>30</sup> *Spanish Cal.*, 198. Kervyn, *Rel. Pol.*, ii. 559, 560.

a council she answered that the promise had been conditional; in other words, that what she had promised to recognize was a properly constituted council, not any kind of assembly that the pope might summon. Finally she said that she would send for him when she had made up her mind.<sup>31</sup>

On May 1 the decisive step was taken. The privy council met at Greenwich and resolved to refuse admission to Martinengo. Cecil's principal supporters in securing this result were Lord Keeper Bacon, the marquis of Northampton, and the earl of Pembroke.<sup>32</sup> The two former were noted as strong supporters of the new order, the latter was commonly classed as a catholic. He probably belonged to the school of elder statesmen who combined hatred of the papacy with attachment to old doctrines and ceremonies. The official account of the meeting describes the councillors as opposed, one and all, to the reception of an envoy from the pope.<sup>33</sup> According to a report which was sent to Rome about June, 1561, Bacon secured this unanimity by declaring that he failed to see how any one could vote otherwise without manifestly committing high treason.<sup>34</sup> The official account, after recording that the decision was unanimous, gave a summary of the reasons on which it was based. It first appealed to precedent, and called to mind that on former occasions, and most recently in the reign of Mary, entry had been refused to the pope's messengers and letters. The second reason, of which the force was undoubtedly, was that the jurisdiction of the pope had

<sup>31</sup> *Spanish Cal.*, 201.

<sup>32</sup> *Foreign Cal.*, 1561-2, Nos. 186, 187.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 162.

<sup>34</sup> Appendix 32. Cf. Meyer, *England und die katholische Kirche*, 36, and *Hardwicke State Papers*, i. 171.

been renounced by the recent act of supremacy and by the legislation of Henry VIII. To receive Martinengo would be to admit the pope's jurisdiction and to infringe both the spirit and the letter of the law. This consideration applied with especial force so long as Elizabeth was queen ; since her enemies impugned her title on the authority of a papal decree, the jurisdiction of Rome could not be admitted without danger to her throne. Practical reasons were next alleged to justify the council's decision. Encouraged by the rumour of Martinengo's coming, evil-disposed persons had broken the law with great audacity, rumours had been spread that the queen intended to change her religion, and conjurers had cast spells predicting her early death. In the face of such symptoms of disaffection no man who loved his country could assent to the coming of a nuncio. The privy council then answered those who argued that the pope's intentions were peaceful and that Elizabeth would commit herself to nothing if she merely gave his ambassador a hearing. It was pointed out that even though he swore to attempt nothing against the peace of the realm there was no security that he would keep his oath, while the assertion that the pope's intentions were peaceful was refuted by facts. Only a year ago he had sent Parpaglia to stir rebellion against Elizabeth, and at this very time his legate was busy in Ireland on a similar errand. In conclusion a protestation was made of the queen's desire for a council. Nothing, it was said, would please her better than the meeting of a good general council by which unity of religion might be established in Christendom. Such an assembly she would promote with every means in her power ; but she could not recognize the body

which she understood the pope to have summoned at Trent, a mere continuation of the old council, where none would be admitted to vote save those who were sworn to uphold his authority. The uprightness of his intentions towards her was all the more doubtful because he had treated her differently from other powers. The emperor and the kings of France and Spain had been consulted before the bull of summons was issued, but she, though equally a prince of Christendom, had been ignored until the time of assemblage was actually passed.

On May 3 de Quadra was invited to appear before the privy council and hear its decision. The invitation embarrassed him because he feared that the pope would be referred to in unseemly language, in which case he would be forced either to listen in silence while his religion was insulted or to make a protest which might be inconvenient for Spanish policy. He therefore wrote to Cecil that he was not concerned with religious controversies, being the ambassador of the king of Spain and not of the pope, and begged that a simple answer, yes or no, might be given. Cecil reassured him, and he appeared before the council on May 5. A written answer was tendered to him summarizing the resolution of May 1, but he refused to receive it, repeating his demand for a simple yes or no. In the end he consented to hear the answer read, but still declined to receive it in writing.<sup>35</sup> Thus after four months of hesitation and intrigue the hopes of the catholics were disappointed and the policy of Cecil and the protestants prevailed. Unless Elizabeth was resolved to undo all that she had done since she came to the

<sup>35</sup> *Spanish Cal.*, 201. Kervyn, *Rel. Pol.*, ii. 563.

throne her decision to exclude Martinengo was undoubtedly wise. For her there was no half-way house. She must either adhere to the side of reform or throw in her lot with the papacy. To admit the nuncio, unless she had resolved to submit to the pope, would have been to run risks for no useful purpose. Whatever language of compliment Pius might use, his attitude towards her could not be other than hostile. How could one who claimed to be the head of Christendom regard with anything but profound condemnation the rebellious queen who had renounced his authority, proscribed his religion, and imprisoned his bishops? Nothing but complete submission could make him her friend, and unless she was resolved to surrender it was madness to receive his advances. As was pointed out with perfect truth in the privy council's resolution, the missions of Parpaglia and Wolf were essentially hostile acts. In the case of Parpaglia the hostility was disclosed by the choice of the envoy and the time of his dispatch, in the case of Wolf by the circumstances of the mission. In Ireland, where Elizabeth was weak, Pius ignored her; in England, where her authority was supreme, he approached her by methods of conciliation. But an inevitable hostility underlay his action on both occasions. For this reason she was wise in disregarding de Quadra's argument that she would commit herself to nothing by giving Martinengo a hearing. Had she done so she would have implicitly disavowed her own religious settlement, which was founded on rejection of the pope. From this false step, which might have involved England in civil war and cost her her crown, she was saved by the wisdom and resolution of Cecil.

In not unnatural exultation at the success of his

endeavours he wrote to Throgmorton on May 8 : ' Whan I sawe this Romish influence towardes about one month past, I thought necessary to dull the papistes expectation, by discoveryng of certen massmongars and punishyng of them as I doo not dowt but ye have herd of them, I take God to record I meane no evill to any of them but onely for the rebatyng of the papistes humors, which by the Queen's Majestes lenyte grew to rank. I fynd it hath done much good.'<sup>36</sup> These words have been made a ground for charging Cecil with the fabrication of a 'bogus plot' and for accusing him of 'infamous hypocrisy'.<sup>37</sup> I think that the condemnation is undeserved. What Cecil did was to persuade Elizabeth that certain undoubted breaches of the law afforded evidence of treasonable tendencies which would probably culminate in rebellion if Martinengo were admitted. The charge of fabricating a bogus plot cannot be sustained unless Cecil can be shown to have accused innocent men of acts which they did not commit or to have represented an incident which he knew to be unimportant as a danger to the state. Now in the first place Cecil invented nothing. The persons who were convicted of saying and hearing mass undoubtedly committed the acts imputed to them.<sup>38</sup> In the second place, although the

<sup>36</sup> R. O., S. P. Foreign, Eliz., xxvi, No. 154. Foreign Cal. 1561-2, No. 187, § 2.

<sup>37</sup> Father Pollen in *The Month*, vol. 99, p. 52.

<sup>38</sup> Froude makes a suggestion of fabricating evidence against Grindal (*History*, Cabinet edition, vi. 486). When sending Coxe's examination to Cecil, Grindal wrote that some extraordinary punishment ought to be inflicted for the magic and conjurations to which the prisoner confessed. (S. P. Dom., Eliz., xvi, No. 49.) The reference

practices which Cecil 'discovered' may have been innocent, it does not follow that he did not honestly believe them to be dangerous. In order to judge him fairly account must be taken of the circumstances. He was by nature suspicious, strongly attached to reform, inclined to regard all adherents of the old religion as traitors in germ. He was therefore predisposed to attach importance to whatever seemed to give evidence of Roman influences. When news reached him about the same time that a papal emissary was active in Ireland, that de Quadra and the imprisoned bishops were talking of a catholic restoration, and that masses were being said in Essex at the instance of two members of Mary's privy council, he would naturally connect the whole set of facts together and attach an importance to the last which, taken singly, it might not have possessed. It is for this reason that he convinced himself and persuaded the queen that the popish practices in Essex imported danger to the state. Perhaps he was mistaken, but he acted honestly, in the interest of what he believed to be the public good. His final remark that he meant no evil to his victims was not hypocrisy, but merely a protest that he served no private ends.

was to a statement of Coxe that he had said mass once or twice at Winchester in order to hallow love incantations. Froude hints that Grindal wished to impute these practices to Waldegrave and his companions in order that a severer sentence might be inflicted on them than could be imposed for merely hearing or saying mass. There is no just ground for this accusation. The sorcery to which Coxe confessed had nothing to do with the 'massing' in Essex, and Grindal never suggested that it had. His object in writing to Cecil was to point out that massing combined with blasphemy ought to be punished more severely than massing alone.

The news of Elizabeth's refusal to admit Martinengo caused both surprise and indignation at Rome, where it was believed, on information furnished by the bishop of Viterbo, the French nuncio, in February,<sup>39</sup> that the abbot would be admitted. At the end of May a letter was received from the latter with the bare announcement that difficulties had arisen about the safe-conduct. On this Borromeo directed the nuncio to procure the necessary document through Throgmorton.<sup>40</sup> On June 4 a letter from de Quadra to Vargas gave definite information.<sup>41</sup> Borromeo then wrote again to Viterbo, reminding him that the English ambassador had declared a few months earlier that Elizabeth would recognize the council, and expressing astonishment at the unaccountable change of attitude. He was directed to put Throgmorton in mind of what had passed and to press him to induce Elizabeth to change her mind.<sup>42</sup> Viterbo appealed to Throgmorton accordingly, but was met with the answer that the laws of England prohibited the admission of an envoy from the pope.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>39</sup> *Supra*, p. 77.

<sup>40</sup> Šusta, *Die römische Curie*, i. 196.

<sup>41</sup> Appendix 33.

<sup>42</sup> Šusta, *Ibid.*, p. 194.

<sup>43</sup> Šusta, *Ibid.*, p. 196. *Foreign Cal.*, 1561-2, No. 304.

## CHAPTER VI

### PAPAL PROJECTS, JULY-DECEMBER, 1561

WHILE official communications were in progress between Throgmorton and the bishop of Viterbo, a more secret effort was being made by Rome to learn what was happening in England. Towards the end of June an Italian merchant named Vergecius arrived in London from Paris, with the ostensible object of paying his respects to Elizabeth and collecting materials for a history of the times. He brought with him a letter of recommendation from Throgmorton, who, however, suspected that he had some other purpose and advised Cecil to keep a close eye on him.<sup>1</sup> Throgmorton's suspicions were well founded. In secret Vergecius was a papal agent accredited by a letter from Cardinal Carpi, who in 1555 had been appointed protector of Ireland.<sup>2</sup> His mission had two objects, firstly to make arrangements for conveying assistance in money from the pope to the imprisoned bishops, and secondly to obtain information at first hand as to the political situation in England. Pius seems to have conceived the suspicion that Philip was playing a double game, affecting in public to support papal pressure on Elizabeth, and encouraging her in private to resist it. De Quadra regarded the coming of Vergecius with

<sup>1</sup> *Foreign Cal.*, 1561-2, No. 244. Kervyn, *Rel. Pol.*, ii. 577.

<sup>2</sup> It is not stated to whom the letter was addressed.

much disfavour, and warned him that if the pope entered into communication with English catholics through secret channels he would bring down ruin upon them.<sup>3</sup> No record has survived of the envoy's proceedings, and it is therefore impossible to say whether he had any communication with the imprisoned bishops or succeeded in making any arrangements to relieve them. He was graciously received by Elizabeth and Cecil, exchanged presents with them, and returned to France after a stay of about three weeks without exciting suspicion.<sup>4</sup>

With the failure of Martinengo's mission the pope abandoned the attempt to open communication directly with Elizabeth. He had perhaps come to the conclusion that she was hardened in iniquity, and regarded it as futile to approach her further. But in many quarters the belief held ground that she was not ill-disposed to catholicism, and hopes were still entertained that she might be induced to recognize the council. Among those who had not lost all hope was Commendone, one of the bearers of the bull of summons to the protestant powers of the continent. After the failure of his efforts at Naumburg in January–February, 1561, Commendone visited various princes and cities of Germany, and in August found himself at Lübeck, where he received orders to extend his journeys to Sweden. He applied accordingly to Eric, king of Sweden, for a safe-conduct. His application happened to arrive when Eric, one of Elizabeth's most constant lovers, was on the point of sailing for England.

<sup>3</sup> Gachard, *Correspondance de Marguerite d'Autriche*, i. 506. Kervyn, *Rel. Pol.*, ii. 578, 579, 585, 610, 627. *Spanish Cal.*, 220.

<sup>4</sup> Kervyn, *Rel. Pol.*, ii. 585.

Eric replied that he could not receive Commendone in Sweden, since he was on his way to England. He sent a safe-conduct, and suggested that the nuncio should follow him and deliver the pope's bull to him in London. The opportunity appeared to Commendone to be a good one for making his way into England. He could hardly believe, so he wrote to Borromeo (1 September), that the queen would refuse him admission if the king of Sweden asked that he might be allowed to come on a mission to himself. He therefore suggested that Borromeo should send him a brief for the queen and a few more, unaddressed, which he could deliver to bishops, nobles, and others if he succeeded in reaching England. He saw little prospect of being able to use them, but he considered it advisable to be prepared for all contingencies.<sup>5</sup> Borromeo replied in October that the goodwill of the king of Sweden was doubtful and the ill-will of Elizabeth certain. The pope could not consent to the journey unless Commendone had assured grounds for believing that it would bear good fruit.<sup>6</sup> Here the project ended. Bad weather prevented Eric from sailing for England, and Commendone returned to Italy.

The news that Elizabeth had refused to admit Martinengo revived the apprehensions which Philip of Spain had felt at the time of Parpaglia's mission. He feared lest the pope, exasperated by the insult put upon him, should declare Elizabeth schismatic and deprive her of her kingdom. Under his orders the duke of Alva interviewed the bishop of Terracina, the nuncio

<sup>5</sup> *Misc. di Storia hist. Ital.*, vi (1865), 231, 233. British Museum, Egerton MS., 1077, pp. 142, 143.

<sup>6</sup> Appendix 34.

in Spain, and laid before him the evil consequences of such a policy. If the pope deprived Elizabeth and then failed to put his decree in force, his authority would be diminished and Elizabeth would be enraged to no useful purpose. On Philip, as eldest son of the church, would fall the duty of conquering England in execution of a papal sentence, but at the present conjuncture he was not prepared to undertake the task, and even if he were, France and Germany would certainly try to prevent him, with the result that peace would be broken and the meeting of the council rendered impossible. At a suitable time Philip would be ready to employ all the resources of his kingdom, and even his person, in giving effect to the pope's decree. He had given sufficient proofs in the past of his devotion to religion in England by marrying Mary and bringing the country back to the true faith. When the late pope, Paul IV, had contemplated the deprivation of Elizabeth, he had shown his sense of Philip's services by offering to invest him with her kingdom. Such were the arguments which Alva laid before Terracina in Spain. An account of their conversation was sent to Vargas in July, with instructions to press Philip's views on the pope at first hand. Vargas was specially directed to note whether Pius was of the same mind as Paul on the subject of the disposal of England. The insistence on this topic is significant. With all his religion Philip never lost sight of his temporal interests. The present time was not opportune for the excommunication of Elizabeth, but if Pius insisted on proceeding to extremities Philip was resolved that England should fall a prey to no other power but Spain.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Simancas Archives, *Secretaria de Estado*, Legajo 891, f. 79.

He was not mistaken in anticipating papal hostility towards Elizabeth. In the summer of 1561 the indignation which Pius felt at her conduct led him to consider plans for depriving her of her throne. Mary queen of Scots, who in the eyes of all foreign catholics was the rightful queen of England, was now a widow,<sup>8</sup> and the courts of Europe were full of schemes for finding her a husband. To the pope, as father of Christendom, the marriage of crowned heads was a matter of constant concern. Hardly a month after the death of Francis Pius was offering his assistance to the emperor to match Mary with an Austrian archduke.<sup>9</sup> The emperor looked coldly on the proposal, and a more ambitious match was suggested in Don Carlos, the heir-apparent of Spain.<sup>10</sup> This plan having proved abortive before the reluctance of Philip and the opposition of Catherine de Médicis, Pius returned to the former project.<sup>11</sup> He now contemplated recognizing Mary as queen of England, marrying her to the Archduke Ferdinand, absolving Elizabeth's subjects from their allegiance, and sending delegates to Scotland to proclaim the sentence against her. This scheme is summarized in memoranda which are among Cardinal Morone's papers, and was communicated in part by him to an unknown correspondent at Louvain in a letter

Printed by Mignet, *Marie Stuart* (1884), i. 405. Cf. Froude, *History* (Cabinet edition), vi. 495.

<sup>8</sup> Her husband, Francis II, had died on December 5, 1560.

<sup>9</sup> Sickel, *Concil von Trient*, 161.

<sup>10</sup> Mignet, *Marie Stuart*, i. 134. *Doc. inéd.*, vol. 98 (1891), pp. 220, 265. The correct date of the letter printed on p. 265 is 1560 and not 1561 as given in the text.

<sup>11</sup> Mignet, *Ibid.*, i. 92, 134. Philippson, *Marie Stuart*, i. 273. *Spanish Cal.*, 422.

dated July 21, 1561.<sup>12</sup> Being well aware that a declaration of hostility to Elizabeth would probably cost the imprisoned bishops their heads, Cardinal Morone desired his correspondent to ascertain whether they were willing that proceedings should be taken against her notwithstanding the danger to themselves. In obedience to this request communications were opened from Flanders with the bishops. One attempt to reach them failed, a second was more successful. They did not venture to write, but sent a verbal answer by a trustworthy messenger. The purport of their reply was as follows. In their view it was of the most urgent necessity that some vigorous step should be taken to restore the catholic faith and extinguish heresy, which was spreading rapidly in England, partly through the compulsion of the government, partly through the submission of the people. They therefore urged that such action should be taken as would be of greatest advantage to the worship of God and the promotion of true religion. They were unable to send a more explicit reply because no one was allowed to approach them to whom they could open their whole minds, and they were frequently questioned by the government as to the secret letters and messages which it suspected them of receiving. Nor did they think it necessary to enter into details, since the needs of the kingdom were hidden to none. They merely repeated the word 'Fiat,

<sup>12</sup> Appendices 35, 36, and 38. The two memoranda (Nos. 35 and 38) are not dated, but when they are read together with the letter of July 21 (No. 36) and the reply to that letter (No. 37) it is clear that the four documents refer to the same subject. Dr. Meyer appears, therefore, to be mistaken in ascribing No. 35 to the year 1559. (*England und die katholische Kirche*, p. 31, note 2.)

fiat, fiat,' in order by its iteration to testify to the ardour of their desires. Their one prayer was that England might be saved from heresy. For this end they were prepared to sacrifice themselves, preferring the redemption of their country to the safety of their lives. The match with Ferdinand seemed to them suitable, but what their minds were set on was the recovery of England to the true faith. They were ready to welcome any means, whether a marriage of Mary with Ferdinand or any other, if only England could be rescued from perdition.<sup>13</sup>

Another branch of papal activity against Elizabeth at this period extended to France. In June, 1561, the cardinal of Ferrara had been appointed legate to France for the purpose of strengthening the hands of the catholic party. His instructions dealt, among other things, with England.<sup>14</sup> He was directed to call the attention of Catherine de Médicis to Elizabeth's misdeeds. Her answer to Martinengo proved that methods of kindness were thrown away upon her. In order to remedy the evils caused by her misconduct, and to prevent the heretics of France and adjoining

<sup>13</sup> This reply of the bishops was embodied in a letter (Appendix 37) which Maurice Clenock, a leading refugee, sent from Louvain to Morone on November 2, 1561. Clenock says that the reply is sent by him and not by the correspondent to whom Morone's letter was addressed, because it would not have been prudent for that correspondent to reply. Father Phillips suggests (*Extinction of the Ancient Hierarchy*, 217) that the unknown correspondent was Lord Montagu. I think it more probably was Sir Francis Englefield, who had returned from Italy to Flanders in the summer of 1561. (*Foreign Cal.*, 1561-2, Nos. 189, § 2, 481, § 3.) Morone's letter was sent 'Lovanium', where Englefield then was.

<sup>14</sup> Pollen, *Papal Negotiations* (*Scottish History Soc.*), p. 58.

countries from receiving help from England, the pope desired to marry Mary to some powerful catholic prince. If such a marriage were concluded Pius would support Mary's claims as rightful heir to Elizabeth with whatever means were most effectual for restoring the catholic religion in England. He was ready to approve of any husband that the French government might select, provided Philip of Spain acquiesced. If objections were raised that the present time was inopportune for exasperating Elizabeth, Ferrara was to answer that delay would make the undertaking more difficult. The present time was not unfavourable, because Elizabeth's design of marrying Dudley had made her unpopular with her nobility. If that marriage were concluded and children born, the succession would be established in a heretical line, and the zeal of the catholics would grow cold.

These instructions were probably drawn up at the same time as Morone was opening the pope's plans to the exiles in Flanders. In both cases the object was the same, to recover England to the church, but there is a wide difference between the plans laid before Morone's English correspondents and those set out in Ferrara's instructions. The former go straight to the point; Elizabeth is to be deprived and Mary is to take her place. In Ferrara's instructions these crude proposals are watered down. Elizabeth's title is admitted, and nothing is said of deposing her. The marriage of Mary is the main topic. Until that had been accomplished it was unnecessary to allude, except in general terms, to the direct campaign against Elizabeth which Pius contemplated.

It was not enough, however, to approach France

and the English exiles. Philip also must be sounded. The message which he had sent Vargas in July showed him anything but eager for extreme measures.<sup>15</sup> His anxiety to know whether Pius was prepared to grant him the investiture of England had proved, nevertheless, that he was not inaccessible to ambition. If this string were touched he might possibly be roused to action. The attempt was made through Broccardo, an Italian nobleman in the service of Spain, who was in Rome on diplomatic business towards the end of 1561. Broccardo left Rome for Madrid in October, bringing answers from the pope on various domestic questions.<sup>16</sup> He was instructed further to make some amazing offers to Philip.<sup>17</sup> Pius proposed, so Broccardo was to say, to deprive the sovereigns of England and France of their dominions if they failed to send representatives to the council and to pay due obedience to the holy see. The investiture of both kingdoms would be conferred on Philip, whom Pius would help to acquire them with every means in his power. In thus becoming master of England and France Philip would not merely obtain an augmentation of earthly power, but would justly be said to receive it from the hand of God. Not contented with offering Philip this splendid prize, Pius commissioned Broccardo to kindle his ambition in another direction. The Emperor Ferdinand was old; on his death, which might not be long delayed, there was a risk that a heretical emperor would be elected by heretical electors. In order to prevent this calamity the following plan suggested itself to Pius.

<sup>15</sup> *Supra*, p. 120.

<sup>16</sup> *Foreign Cal.*, 1561-2, Nos. 643, § 1, and 792, § 2. Šusta, *Die römische Curie*, i. 92.

<sup>17</sup> Appendix 39.

Ferdinand had not yet been crowned, and in consequence no king of the Romans had yet been elected.<sup>18</sup> The only obstacle to the coronation was the expense of the journey to Rome. If Philip would defray that, Ferdinand would come to Rome and after he had been crowned Philip could be elected king of the Romans, thus securing the reversion of the empire for himself.<sup>19</sup> Pius was prepared to contribute his part by depriving the heretical electors and appointing others who might be trusted to make a proper choice. As a final inducement Broccardo was instructed to tell Philip that the king of Navarre was intriguing for the same prize. The ambitions of Navarre, which Pius

<sup>18</sup> In the middle ages the head of the empire was not styled emperor, but merely king of the Romans, until he had been crowned by the pope. When he had been crowned his successor, if one was elected in his lifetime, received the title of king of the Romans.

<sup>19</sup> The proposal was not new. Charles V had attempted in 1550/1 to arrange for Philip's election as king of the Romans when Ferdinand should become emperor. In August, 1560, Vargas reported to Philip that he had had a conversation with the pope, in which, after deplored the heretical proclivities of Maximilian, the future Emperor Maximilian II, Pius said 'que para solo Vostra Maestà deseaba aquella dignidad (the empire) por beneficio publico de toda la christiandad, y que para cuando vacare el Imperio estaba en privar del derecho de elegir a los Electores hereges, y tambien al Rey Maximiliano, para que no pudiese ser elegido, y por otra parte abilitar secretamente a los mismos Electores privados para en caso, que quisiesen elegir a Vostra Maestà, a quien darie (daria) el recabdo (recaudo) dello, como se hizo con el Emperador, Nuestro Señor, que es en gloria, a efecto de atraer al Duque de Sajonia'. Döllinger, *Beiträge*, i. 339. Bucholtz, *Ferdinand I*, iii. 580. In February, 1562, an agent of the duchess of Parma who had just returned from Germany reported that the German bishops hoped that Philip would become emperor. Gachard, *Correspondance de Marguerite d'Autriche*, ii. 92.)

had stimulated a year earlier by recognizing him as a crowned head, were a constant anxiety to Philip, and the reference to them was well calculated to rouse him to activity.

At the same time that these ambitious projects were being canvassed, the interests of England from a purely religious point of view were not overlooked at Rome. In the summer of 1561 Sanders, the famous historian of the English schism, wrote a report on the state of his country for the information of Cardinal Morone.<sup>20</sup> With the help of this report a list was prepared of the most distinguished confessors in England and abroad,<sup>21</sup> and at the same time a scheme was drawn up for re-organizing the English episcopate. Heath, archbishop of York, was to be transferred to Canterbury, Watson of Lincoln to York, and Scot of Chester to Durham; nine sees were assigned to nine ecclesiastics, of whom some were in England and some abroad, and four more divines were described as fit for the episcopate.

<sup>20</sup> *Cath. Rec. Soc.*, i. 1. For the date see footnote on p. 24 and the reference to the imprisonment of Hastings, Wharton, and Stradling, pp. 21, 45.

<sup>21</sup> Appendix 40. This document makes no reference to Sanders's report, but a comparison of its list with the lists in Sanders shows the connexion of the two. Sanders (p. 17) gives a list headed 'de iis decanis quos adhuc in carcere detineri accepimus', followed by three names. Appendix 40 gives a list headed 'decani qui detinentur in carcere', followed by the same three names arranged in the same order. Sanders gives a list (p. 18), 'de iis archidiaconis quos adhuc in carcere detineri accepimus', followed by six names. Appendix 40 gives a list headed 'archidiaconi qui detinentur in carcere', followed by six names of which five are in Sanders. Sanders gives a list (p. 22) headed 'Quid ii ob fidem passi sunt qui ad episcopatus nominantur', containing six names. In appendix 40 all these men are nominated for bishoprics.

By these means candidates were provided for all save two of the English sees which were vacant of bishops recognized by Rome.<sup>22</sup> Those who prepared the list were evidently inspired by hopes of an early restoration in England, and thought it wise to have bishops ready to assist in carrying it out. Proposals of a somewhat different kind were made in a second paper which was prepared about the same time by some official in the Roman curia for the consideration of Cardinal Morone.<sup>23</sup> Its main object was to provide for the representation of England at the council of Trent and to arrange for relieving the imprisoned bishops in England. It recorded that many of the ecclesiastics in prison in England were worthy of the episcopate, but it considered that for the present it was sufficient to make five appointments from among the exiles. These five new bishops, together with Goldwell of St. Asaph, would represent England at Trent, and would exert themselves to secure its reduction to the

<sup>22</sup> The 26 English sees may be classified as follows for the purpose of these proposals :—

(i) filled by duly consecrated bishops . . . . .	10
(ii) filled by a duly consecrated bishop (Kitchin) who had abjured . . . . .	1
(iii) to be filled by nominees to specified sees . . . . .	9
(iv) to be filled by nominees to unspecified sees . . . . .	4
(v) still to be provided for . . . . .	2

<sup>23</sup> Appendix 41. This paper is not dated, but internal evidence assigns it to the second half of 1561. It refers to Goldwell as being at Trent—he arrived there on June 15 (Merkle, *Conc. Trid.*, ii. 356)—but speaks of the council as not yet open—it opened on January 18, 1562. Brady (*Episcopal Succession*, ii. 324) describes it as written by Morone. It is endorsed ‘all’ Illmo Mons. Car’e Morone sopra li negotii d’Inghilterra.’ Possibly it was prepared by a secretary on his verbal instructions.

church by the help of the council. For the relief of the imprisoned bishops the pope was asked to send 100 scudi (about £15) a month to Clement, an English physician in Antwerp, who was one of the exiles for religion. The hope was expressed that if no delay occurred in the assemblage of the fathers the need for payment would soon cease. The paper ended by pointing out the advantages of the proposed expenditure. The catholics of England would learn that the pope was concerning himself in real earnest with the recovery of their country, they would take courage, and the queen would be forced to change her opinions. Even if this success were not achieved Pius would at any rate have shown his sympathy for so many learned and constant confessors.

We have now reached a date, the end of 1561, which immediately preceded the reopening of the council of Trent. Before resuming the main thread of the narrative it will be convenient to summarize the negotiations which took place in 1561 between the pope and the catholic powers on the subject of its assemblage. Although the bull of November, 1560, had summoned it to meet at Easter it did not hold its opening session till January, 1562. The delay was due to the old dispute of continuation versus new induction. When the invitation of November was issued the dispute had not been composed, and in the early months of 1561 it threatened to frustrate after all the efforts of the pope to bring the council together. On this subject, as has already been seen, the king of Spain on the one side and the emperor and France on the other held opposing views.<sup>24</sup> In order to propitiate all parties the pope

<sup>24</sup> *Supra*, p. 63.

had worded the bull so as to make it capable of a double interpretation. He thought, no doubt, that both sides would read it in the light of their hopes rather than of their fears. But the contrary result happened. Objections were made to the bull by Philip of Spain on the ground that it signified a new induction, and by the emperor and France on the ground that it signified the reverse.<sup>25</sup> Neither the emperor nor France, however, offered an uncompromising opposition, the emperor because he earnestly desired a council, even though his wishes as to the manner of summons were disregarded, the king of France because his policy all along had been to follow the lead of the emperor. It was from Spain, the champion of orthodoxy, that an unyielding resistance was met.<sup>26</sup> Rather than suffer a new assembly to be indicted Philip was resolved that none at all should be held. He therefore insisted that the bull of November should be amended so as expressly to decree a continuation. Since it was impossible to hold a council without the co-operation of Philip, Pius, whose personal inclination coincided with the king's wishes, resolved to yield. In order to maintain an outward appearance of consistency he made no public declaration, but he sent Philip an explanatory brief, to be kept a profound secret, which declared that the bull signified, and had always been intended to signify, a continuation (July 17, 1561).<sup>27</sup> This concession having satisfied the king, who promised

<sup>25</sup> *Instructions et lettres*, 59, 62, 82. Steinherz, *Nuntiaturberichte*, i. xci.

<sup>26</sup> *Doc. inéd.*, ix. 93.

<sup>27</sup> Döllinger, *Beiträge*, i. 366. Steinherz, *Nuntiaturberichte*, i. 274. *Sitzungsberichte der Acad. der Wiss., Wien*, vol. 135, Abh. x, p. 107.

that his prelates should set out for Trent early in August, it became certain that the council would soon assemble with a solid nucleus of Spanish and Italian bishops.

The adhesion of the emperor and France had still to be obtained. The former soon yielded his consent,<sup>28</sup> but it brought with it little beyond moral support. While Ferdinand was willing to send his ambassadors he was unable to persuade the catholic bishops of Germany to attend. Fearing lest in their absence their protestant neighbours should overrun their sees the ecclesiastical princes of the empire held aloof from Trent.<sup>29</sup>

The attitude of the French government, like its domestic policy, was wavering and uncertain. At first, though displeased at the ambiguity of the bull of November, it proclaimed its eagerness for an early meeting.<sup>30</sup> Later, when Philip's objections interposed delay, its zeal cooled and talk was again heard of a national council. On June 12 a meeting of French bishops was convoked for July 20, ostensibly in order to select those from among their number who should go to Trent. The pope heard of the summons with alarm. He had already decided to send the cardinal of Ferrara as legate to check the pro-Huguenot policy of France, and he now wrote to Charles IX urging him to counterman the assembly of bishops.<sup>31</sup> Not-

<sup>28</sup> Steinherz, *Nuntiaturberichte*, i. ci.

<sup>29</sup> The only bishops of German nationality who took part in the council were Brus, archbishop of Prague, Rettinger of Lavant, a suffragan of Salzburg, and Haller, titular bishop of Philadelphia.

<sup>30</sup> *Instructions et lettres*, 59, 62. L. Paris, *Négociations*, 827.

<sup>31</sup> Šusta, *Die römische Curie*, i. 219.

withstanding his dissuasion the bishops met at Poissy, a town near Paris, at the end of July, and justified his worst fears by debating questions of reform and consenting, under pressure from the court, to hold a conference on religion, known in history as the colloquy of Poissy, with a deputation of Calvinist divines. These proceedings indicated not obscurely that Catherine de Médicis and her advisers inclined more and more to seek a remedy for religious difficulties in a national rather than an oecumenical assembly. In proportion as their policy took this direction their zeal for the council cooled. As a matter of form, in October twenty-five bishops and an ambassador were chosen to go to Trent,<sup>32</sup> but their departure was delayed on various futile pretexts.<sup>33</sup> As the year drew to an end the probability that France would be represented there seemed to grow daily more remote.

To sum up, the position at the beginning of 1562 was as follows. Spain, Portugal, and Italy had accepted the council and their prelates were assembling at Trent; the emperor also had consented and was sending his ambassadors; France was wavering, professing to Rome its eagerness to take part but showing an opposite tendency in its public acts; the protestant powers had refused, without exception, to recognize a papal assembly.

<sup>32</sup> *Instructions et lettres*, 102.

<sup>33</sup> Šusta, i. 292, 302, 320.

## CHAPTER VII

### THE NEGOTIATIONS OF THE CARDINAL OF FERRARA

IN the preceding chapter an account has been given of the various negotiations which Pius initiated during the latter part of 1561 for the purpose of recovering England to the church. In these proceedings he appears as the determined enemy of Elizabeth, convinced of her unworthiness, and bent on rescuing England from her evil hands. It would nevertheless be a mistake to suppose that he had resolved, at all costs, on declaring open war against her. The hostile propositions with which he was busied in 1561 were rather in the nature of feelers, put forth in order to ascertain how far France, or Spain, or both, could be relied on to give effect to a papal sentence. They did not commit him to pronouncing it, and left him free to make further efforts at conciliation. We now turn to another phase of his relations with England, in which we find one of his principal lieutenants pursuing the path of conciliation with no less eagerness than he himself had shown in a contrary direction.

When the cardinal of Ferrara was sent as legate to France he was instructed, as has already been explained,<sup>1</sup> to make proposals to the French government, which, if carried out, would have cost Elizabeth her throne. But at the same time the pope gave him power to treat with her on friendly terms. Negotia-

<sup>1</sup> *Supra*, p. 123.

tions in this sense were authorized by Pius in an autograph brief of June 29, 1561, which empowered the cardinal to make Elizabeth any promises that seemed to him opportune, provided only that she returned to the true church and brought her kingdom with her.<sup>2</sup> A month later (July 28) Borromeo wrote to the French nuncio (Viterbo) that the pope had given up all hope of Martinengo's admission, but that if Elizabeth should change her mind and consent to receive a message, one of the prelates in Ferrara's suite could be sent to deliver it.<sup>3</sup> So far as England was concerned, therefore, Ferrara received two instructions of an opposite tendency; the restoration of religion was the object of both, but one involved attack and the other conciliation. In order to learn how he acted on them it is necessary to give a brief account of his proceedings in France.

The cardinal of Ferrara was the son of Alfonso d'Este, duke of Ferrara, and belonged to a ruling Italian house, which, through Rénée, the daughter of Louis XII, was connected with the kings of France. He himself had spent many years in France, was member of the council of state, and held rich French benefices.<sup>4</sup> The primary object of his legation was to hasten the departure of the French prelates to the council of Trent and to turn the government from the policy of concession which it was pursuing towards the Huguenots.<sup>5</sup> The cardinal arrived at court on

<sup>2</sup> Šusta, *Die römische Curie*, i. 196.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, i. 222.

<sup>4</sup> A. Pericaud, *Notice sur Hippolyte d'Este. Foreign Cal.*, 1561-2, No. 713, § 1. *Mémoires de Castelnau (Le Laboureur)*, i. 759.

<sup>5</sup> Early in June the pope told Vargas that 'aquel reyno [France] va todo en perdición, y que a esta causa embia agora por legado al

September 19 during the progress of the colloquy of Poissy.<sup>6</sup> Finding the anti-catholic forces too strong for open opposition he confined his efforts at first to dissuasion and conciliation, showed an amiable face even to Huguenot leaders, and went so far on one occasion as to be present at a protestant sermon.<sup>7</sup> His proceedings excited much indignation among strict catholics, roused Spain to fury, and were extremely distasteful to the pope. Nevertheless he held firmly to his purpose. He believed that in the domain of French politics the king of Navarre held the balance; if Navarre remained faithful to the Huguenots they would prove the stronger, if he could be brought over to the catholic side that would prevail.<sup>8</sup> Under the influence of this conviction Ferrara laid himself out to win Navarre. A rigid orthodoxy would have alienated the king at once. The cardinal therefore took the line of concession, and pursued it to greater lengths than have ever, probably, been ventured on by a Roman legate. In October he approved of a demand which the French government made on the pope for the grant of the cup to the laity, and in December he listened to still more extreme proposals, the removal of images from altars, the abolition of private masses,

Cardenal de Ferrara como por ultimo remedio y extrema unción'.  
*Archivo general de Simancas, Secretaría de estado*, legajo 890,  
fo. 64.

<sup>6</sup> *Supra*, p. 132.

<sup>7</sup> He atoned to a certain extent for this weakness by abstaining from all marks of reverence while prayers were recited. The incident made a great noise in Europe. *Foreign Cal.*, 1561-2, No. 682, § 9. Weiss, *Papiers d'État de Granvelle*, vi. 403, 424. Pallavicino, iii. 371. Šusta, i. 112, 303, 323, 330.

<sup>8</sup> Šusta, i. 296.

the discontinuance of Corpus Christi processions, and the introduction of vernacular prayers into the service of the mass.<sup>9</sup> Although these measures were proposed merely as temporary expedients, until the council had made a final determination, good catholics were amazed that a prince of the church should have anything to say to them.<sup>10</sup> Ferrara was, however, justified by events. The concessions which he had supported were rejected—probably he wished no less—but meanwhile he had detached Navarre from his old allies and brought him permanently into the catholic camp.<sup>11</sup>

The foregoing summary of Ferrara's negotiations in France is necessary in order that his attitude towards England may be understood. Like all papal statesmen he was eager to recover England to the church, and had already considered plans for attaining that end. In a conversation with the emperor's ambassador at Rome in January, 1561, he spoke favourably of a match between Mary and an archduke, and hinted that if it were concluded Pius might help Mary to conquer England and restore religion.<sup>12</sup> A plan of this kind was contemplated by the instructions hostile to Elizabeth

<sup>9</sup> *Instructions et lettres*, 100. Susta, i. 326, ii. 373, 387. Döllinger, *Beiträge*, i. 367

<sup>10</sup> In a letter of January 24, 1562 (*Foreign Cal.*, 1561-2, No. 833, § 2), Throgmorton sent Elizabeth a copy of a 'reformation' which the French government had sent to Rome, describing it as 'not very discrepant from the Queen's formula in England'. What Throgmorton sent was probably a copy of the proposals which Ferrara countenanced.

<sup>11</sup> At Christmas, 1561, Navarre was hearing mass every day (*Foreign Cal.*, 1561-2, No. 750, § 6). Early in March, 1562, he is described as furious on the papists' side (*Ibid.*, No. 931).

<sup>12</sup> Sickel, *Concil von Trient*, 161.

which he had received at Rome. But at the same time, as we have seen, he had been authorized by the pope's letter to treat with her on friendly terms.<sup>13</sup> It was probably left to his judgement to take the line either of hostility or friendship, or, perhaps, to negotiate concurrently with Elizabeth and Catherine de Médicis, representing to Elizabeth that the pope's intentions were friendly, and to Catherine that he proposed to act in Mary's favour. When he reached France the course which he decided to pursue in French politics effectually debarred him from a hostile attitude towards Elizabeth. The relations of England and France were amicable in 1561, and in any case the jealousy which Catherine felt for Mary made it futile to approach her with schemes for putting Mary in Elizabeth's place. Ferrara's instructions, so far as they were hostile to Elizabeth, were therefore a dead letter. He took no action on them.<sup>14</sup> It was different with the alternative instructions. True to the policy of conciliation on which he had embarked in France, he made determined efforts to enter into friendly relations with the English queen. Between November and April he approached her from various directions, his object being always the same, to win her over to the catholic side and to induce her to send ambassadors to the council.

The first attempt was made through Morette, an

<sup>13</sup> *Supra*, pp. 123 and 134.

<sup>14</sup> Father Pollen suggests (*Papal Negotiations*, 58) that the hostile instructions were never issued, but were merely a draft. Having regard to the pope's general attitude towards Elizabeth in the latter part of 1561, I think it more probable that the instructions were actually communicated to Ferrara, although, for the reasons which I give, he took no action on them.

envoy of the duke of Savoy, who crossed over to England in November, 1561, with a mission to negotiate a marriage for the duke of Nemours or the duke of Ferrara either with Elizabeth or Mary.<sup>15</sup> Morette, like a good catholic, was eager that Elizabeth should send representatives to the council. A few months earlier it had been on his encouragement that the pope had finally decided to dispatch Martinengo.<sup>16</sup> Ferrara now enlisted his services as the bearer of a letter and messages to Elizabeth. The letter made profuse protestations of the devotion of the house of Ferrara to the English crown and of the cardinal's own desire for Elizabeth's prosperity, and prayed her to lend a favourable ear to the message which Morette would deliver on his behalf. In the latter part of November Morette presented the cardinal's letter to the queen, and pressed her to send ambassadors to the council. The legate, so he told her, was ready to pay her a visit, though not in his capacity of legate, or to send a representative to wait on her. Elizabeth replied that she would welcome Ferrara provided he came as a member of the house of Este, but that she could not receive him as a legate from Rome. What she had to say on the subject of the council had already been said to de Quadra when he advised her to admit Martinengo. Morette then suggested that Throgmorton should confer with the cardinal. Elizabeth replied that instructions would be sent to Throgmorton, and the interview ended.<sup>17</sup> The orders which Throgmorton

<sup>15</sup> *Foreign Cal.*, 1561-2, No. 713, *Spanish Cal.*, 219. Philippson, *Marie Stuart*, ii. 172. <sup>16</sup> *Supra*, p. 77.

<sup>17</sup> *Foreign Cal.*, 1561-2, No. 688. Kervyn, *Rel. Pol.*, ii. 647. *Spanish Cal.*, 219. *R.O., S.P. For., Eliz.*, vol. 32, No. 504.

received in pursuance of this promise were deeply marked with the distrust which advances from Rome inspired.<sup>18</sup> The ambassador was forbidden to visit the cardinal himself, but was told to convey the queen's message by a gentleman of his suite. In this rejection of Ferrara's offer Cecil's policy again prevailed. But in November, as in April, he had found it no easy task to resist the 'parasites and flatterers' who disputed his influence with the queen. In a private letter to Throgmorton he complained bitterly of the 'blows and stings of these scorpions', and expressed the hope that the official orders which were being sent would put a stop to Ferrara's endeavours.<sup>19</sup> Throgmorton himself did not concur entirely with Cecil. He was a strong protestant, of such robust temper that when attending the feast of the French order of St. Michael, he refused to kneel at the elevation of the Host.<sup>20</sup> Nevertheless, he had always been in favour of recognizing the council and he still adhered to his opinion. In the confused state of religion in Europe he was not without hope of turning it to the advantage of the protestants. In any case he deprecated a point-blank rejection of the cardinal's offers. In his view the proper course was to profess readiness to recognize a properly constituted council while instigating the French government to hold aloof from the assembly which was gathering at Trent. In this way France and Spain might come to blows and England might profit by their dissensions.<sup>21</sup>

The instructions which he had received were, how-

<sup>18</sup> *Foreign Cal.*, 1561-2, No. 688.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 690.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 1560-1, No. 619, § 6.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 1561-2, No. 713, § 1.

ever, explicit, and he had no option but to carry them out. As messenger to the cardinal he chose Francis Peto, a relation of his own, who belonged to a catholic family, and was himself attached to the old religion. Peto waited on Ferrara, thanked him for his friendly letter to the queen, and informed him that if he had any further communication to make it would be graciously received provided it had no concern with his legation from Rome ; for many reasonable causes the queen was resolved to have no dealings with him in that capacity.<sup>22</sup> Although this rejection of his advances must have disappointed Ferrara he received Elizabeth's message with cordiality, declared Morette's proposal that he should visit England to have been merely a polite phrase, and protested that he had approached the queen, for whose welfare he was sincerely concerned, as a member of a ruling house and not as a legate of the pope, who had given him no commission for matters of England. The cardinal then expressed regret that he was not permitted to meet Throgmorton, whom he described as a man of great wisdom, 'fell into a discourse' on the malice of the times, and expatiated on the folly of refusing to associate with fellow Christians because of differences of religion.<sup>23</sup> In the sixteenth century such sentiments were stigmatized as 'political' and were regarded with abhorrence by strict catholics. Whether they represented Ferrara's real opinions may be doubted, but they were thoroughly consistent with the line of policy which he was pursuing.

Notwithstanding the failure of his efforts the cardinal

<sup>22</sup> *Foreign Cal.*, 1561-2, No. 732.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 734, § 5.

wrote hopefully to Rome and declared his intention of continuing his negotiations. He proposed to gain Cecil's goodwill by showing politeness to his son Thomas, an ill-conditioned youth, who was staying at the time in Paris.<sup>24</sup> Replying to Ferrara in the beginning of February the pope commended his zeal, but expressed his own conviction, based on the failure of Parpaglia's and Martinengo's missions, that Elizabeth would persist in her obstinacy. Pius fully approved of the attempt to propitiate Cecil, remarking that he had long known how great was the secretary's influence and had often thought of plans for gaining him over to Rome, but had been baffled by the refusal to receive his nuncios.<sup>25</sup>

During January and February Ferrara continued his efforts, communicating with Throgmorton through a certain abbot of Salerno, writing again to Elizabeth in a most affectionate strain, and pressing Cavalcanti, a frequent agent between England and France, and even de Quadra into the service of his negotiations.<sup>26</sup> Finally he urged Catherine de Médicis to use her influence in the same direction.<sup>27</sup> In February he applied for further powers from the pope. Why they should have been needed in addition to those which he had already received is not clear, but the fact remains that he asked Pius for formal authority to treat with Elizabeth. The required brief was sent him on March 15,

<sup>24</sup> Šusta, *Die römische Curie*, i. 335, 336.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>26</sup> British Museum, *Add. MS. 35831*, p. 11. *Foreign Cal.*, 1561-2, Nos. 880, 891 § 8, 1562, No. 1451. Kervyn, *Rel. Pol.*, ii. 669, 673. Baluze-Mansi, *Miscellanea*, iv. 401.

<sup>27</sup> *Foreign Cal.*, 1561-2, No. 924, § 1.

accompanied by a letter which threw cold water on his sanguine anticipations.<sup>28</sup> Pius pointed out that Elizabeth had persistently rejected advances from Rome and warned him against compromising the dignity of the papal see by ill-considered action.

Meanwhile Throgmorton, no doubt under the pressure of Ferrara's diplomacy, had renewed his advice to the English government to send representatives to the council. On February 16 he declared to Cecil that the protestants were now so strong that if they appeared at the council they might hope to exercise a material influence on its proceedings.<sup>29</sup> On March 6 he returned to the subject at the instance of Catherine de Médicis.<sup>30</sup>

In order that the reader may understand the intervention of the French queen at this stage it is necessary to take a step backwards and explain the underground negotiations which she had been carrying on during recent months. Her great aim since she had risen to power on the death of Francis II (December 5, 1560) had been to ensure her predominance by balancing Huguenots against catholics. At home she endeavoured to keep on good terms at once with the Guises and the Châtillons, abroad she used similar tactics with catholic and protestant powers. It was an essential part of this policy to propitiate England and Germany. Accordingly, at the same time that she was promising to send the French bishops to Trent without delay she dispatched Rambouillet, a rising diplomatist, to the princes of Germany (November, 1561) with instructions which would have filled Pius

<sup>28</sup> Šusta, *Die römische Curie*, ii. 417. Pollen, *Papal Negotiations*, 93.

<sup>29</sup> *Foreign Cal.*, 1561-2, No. 892

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 924, § 1.

with horror. Rambouillet was directed to inform them that although the French government had acquiesced in the meeting of the council at Trent it had almost lost hope of any good result from its assemblage. The French king therefore sent him to the German princes in order to consult with them as to the best means of convening a new council at a suitable place on conditions which would be acceptable to all Christians. In order that the anti-papal character of the mission might be the more marked Rambouillet was accompanied on part, if not the whole, of his peregrinations by Francis Hotman, a man famous in history for the violence of his Calvinism. In execution of his orders the ambassador first visited Frederic III, Elector Palatine, the leader of the 'reformed' party in Germany, to whom he delivered his message in such a way as to draw from the elector congratulations to Catherine de Médicis on her adhesion to the true faith (December 21, 1561). From Heidelberg he went on to the duke of Würtemberg (December 20, 1561), thence to the elector of Saxony (January 24, 1562), thence to Berlin, and thence to Strassburg (March 3, 1562), gathering as he went commendations on Catherine for her righteous proceedings.<sup>21</sup>

It is unnecessary to dwell longer on these negotiations, which collapsed with the outbreak of civil war in France (March–April, 1562). The fact that they were undertaken explains why Catherine desired Elizabeth to send English ambassadors to Trent. She wished

<sup>21</sup> *Instructions et lettres*, 106. Kluckhohn, *Briefe*, i. 235. *Foreign Cal.*, 1561–2, No. 753, § 2. *Revue historique*, ii. 34. *Arcana Seculi XVI* (Languet's letters), ii. 193. Sattler, *Geschichte*, iv, *Beilagen*, 206. Šusta, *Die römische Curie*, ii. 405. Heidenhain, *Unionspolitik*, 373, 393.

to combine England, protestant Germany and France into a moderate party which would be strong enough to substitute a council that protestants could attend for the purely Roman body which had just resumed its sittings. It was significant of her object that the emissary whom she sent to Throgmorton was Admiral Coligny, the most uncompromising of Huguenots. Ferrara, who, as we have seen above, had tried to enlist Catherine on his side,<sup>32</sup> would have been disagreeably surprised if he had learnt the communication which Coligny made to the English ambassador. Catherine, so the admiral declared, was inclined to instruct the French ambassadors, who had not yet started for Trent, to join with the representatives of England and the German protestants in laying their grievances against the pope before the emperor's deputies and the assembled fathers and in demanding a free general council. In order to carry out this plan Catherine desired Elizabeth to send ambassadors to the council and to prevail on the German protestants to do likewise. Astonished at such a proposal from a queen who professed to be a catholic, Throgmorton asked Coligny what proof he could give him that she was sincere, seeing that the French government in its public acts seemed to be bent on overthrowing protestantism. Coligny replied that at heart Catherine was well disposed towards his party, but that she was forced to dissemble by the strength of their opponents. On the same day Throgmorton saw the king of Navarre, who used very different language. The skilful diplomacy of Ferrara and the hopes of compensation for his lost kingdom of Navarre had brought

<sup>32</sup> *Supra*, p. 141.

him completely over to the catholic side. He now declared to Throgmorton that the council then assembling at Trent was properly constituted in accordance with ancient models, and that its meeting offered the best hope of restoring religion in Europe.<sup>33</sup>

Throgmorton forwarded Coligny's communication to his government without comment, merely remarking that the departure of de Lansac, who was to represent the French government at the council, would be deferred until Elizabeth had decided how to proceed.<sup>34</sup> Throgmorton's letter was referred for consideration to a committee of the privy council, selected by Elizabeth herself, and composed of Cecil, Bacon, Arundel, Pembroke, Petre, and Mason. Of these six statesmen Cecil and Bacon alone were sincerely attached to the new order of religion. The other four had been active members of Mary's government and passed for catholics at heart. Nevertheless all six voted for refusing to recognize the council unless the German protestants did so too.<sup>35</sup> Elizabeth accepted their advice and decided to consult the Germans before giving a final answer to Catherine de Médicis. Throgmorton was instructed to inform her that in Elizabeth's judgement no good could be hoped from the pretended council of Trent, whose head was the pope and whose members were bound to the pope by an oath. To such an assembly no embassy could be sent, since it was prejudicial to the crown and prohibited by the laws of England. Nevertheless Elizabeth was 'as well disposed as any other prince in Christendome, to procure an universall accord in the matters of Religion', and would readily concur in any good device

<sup>33</sup> *Foreign Cal.*, 1561-2, No. 924, § 5.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, § 9.

<sup>35</sup> Appendix 42.

for a general reformation. With this object she proposed to consult the princes of Germany. Until she had learnt their views she hoped that the French government would detain its ambassadors.<sup>36</sup>

The next step was to approach the German powers. On March 22 Cecil instructed Mundt to visit the duke of Würtemberg and to learn their views. Mundt was to remind the duke that England and the German reformers had agreed at Naumburg to adopt a uniform policy towards the council,<sup>37</sup> to enlarge on the advantages of joint action, and to intimate Elizabeth's readiness to listen to any proposal in that direction that might be put before her. Mundt was not authorized to make any specific offer, but was directed to 'compass' that the princes should send envoys to invite England to a general conference of protestant powers in Germany. The objects of the conference would be the adoption of a uniform policy towards the council and the formation of a confederacy for the defence of protestant Christendom.<sup>38</sup> In accordance with his instructions Mundt visited the duke of Würtemberg, who informed him that a 'Refutation' of the council was still under preparation, and that the members of the confession of Augsburg would shortly hold a meeting on the subject. Mundt suggested that the queen might possibly send an envoy to this meeting, to which the duke replied that nothing had been settled. In the course of further conversation he made the ominous remark that there could be no firm alliance without unity of doctrine. As an orthodox

<sup>36</sup> *Foreign Cal.*, 1561-2, Nos. 926, 965 § 3. British Museum, *Sloane MS.*, 4160, p. 42.

<sup>37</sup> *Supra*, p. 80.

<sup>38</sup> *Foreign Cal.*, 1561-2, No. 946.

Lutheran he looked coldly on proposals for union with French Huguenots, whose views on the real presence he regarded as unsound. No reference was made to the dispatch of envoys from Germany to England.<sup>39</sup> From Stuttgart Mundt went on to the Landgrave of Hesse, and thence to the Elector Palatine. With the former nothing passed of importance; the latter received him with effusion, promised to send Elizabeth the 'Refutation' when it was ready, approved of the suggestion that envoys should be sent to her from Germany, and spoke in favour of the formation of a league of all protestant princes. Finally he promised to follow whatever direction she should give him.<sup>40</sup> His cordiality contrasted with the coldness of Würtemberg. As the leader in Germany of what was technically called the 'Reformed' party, he sought eagerly for support outside Germany and welcomed advances from quarters where the 'Reformed' doctrines were in the ascendant. But he stood almost alone in his schemes for combination against Rome. The doctrinal differences of German protestants were a fatal obstacle to common action.

With Mundt's interviews of April the effort to unite England and Germany in a protest against the council of Trent came to an end. Later in the year negotiations were resumed, but the outbreak of civil war in France gave them a new direction. The council was forgotten, and the English government turned its efforts towards persuading the German princes to join in helping the Huguenots. The meeting to which

<sup>39</sup> *Foreign Cal.*, 1561-2, No. 989.

<sup>40</sup> *Foreign Cal.*, 1561-2, No. 1074. Neudecker, *Neue Beiträge*, ii. 51.

reference had been made in the conversations of April did not assemble till September (at Fulda), and nothing more was said about sending envoys from the German princes to England.<sup>41</sup>

While Mundt was pursuing his negotiations in Germany, the question of the council was still under consideration in Paris. De Lansac, one of the diplomats who had been chosen to represent France, was on the point of setting out for Trent. Notwithstanding the coldness with which Elizabeth had received his advances, Ferrara was still hopeful that ambassadors would go from England also. At the beginning of April he received the brief authorizing him to treat with Elizabeth.<sup>42</sup> In acknowledging its receipt he promised the pope to make no use of it which might compromise the dignity of the papal see, and declared that he did not yet despair of success. Throgmorton, he remarked, though hostile to catholicism, desired nevertheless that England should recognize the council, and still hoped to induce Elizabeth to accept his views.<sup>43</sup> Santa Croce, the nuncio, wrote in a similar strain, that she did not seem far from yielding.<sup>44</sup>

On April 10 Throgmorton proceeded to carry out the instructions which had been sent him at the end of March.<sup>45</sup> He informed Catherine de Médicis that Elizabeth was eager for a reformation of the church, but saw little hope of good result from a council dominated by the pope; she was consulting the German princes with a view to joint action, and she prayed Catherine to delay the departure of de Lansac and the

<sup>41</sup> *Foreign Cal.*, 1562, No. 899.

<sup>42</sup> *Supra*, p. 141.                  <sup>43</sup> *Baluze-Mansi, Miscellanea*, iv. 401.

<sup>44</sup> Aymon, *Tous les synodes*, i. 124

<sup>45</sup> *Supra*, p. 145.

French bishops until the result of the reference to Germany was known. Catherine replied that she herself doubted the successful issue of the council and was inclined to keep back the French representatives, but she feared that the pressure of the catholic powers and of her own ministers would be too strong for her. She promised Throgmorton an answer in a few days, after she had conferred with the cardinal and her French advisers.<sup>46</sup> In this interview she still clung to her old policy of balance. At a time when civil war had actually begun,<sup>47</sup> she had not abandoned hope of peace. An announcement that Elizabeth intended to recognize the council would have had an appeasing effect on parties, since it would have revived the hopes of a truly œcumeneical assembly which were widely held in France. With such a council in prospect men might be ready to accept the interim embodied in the edict of January, and civil war would be averted. Catherine's great aim, therefore, was to gain time during which arrangements might be made for joint action by England and France. After her meeting with Throgmorton, she had an interview on the same day with the cardinal of Ferrara, whom she received in the presence of the king of Navarre, the duke of Guise, the constable, and marshal St. André. In her eagerness to use England as an instrument for furthering her French policy, she gave Ferrara an account of Elizabeth's message which very untruly represented its tone and substance. She informed him that the queen of England had asked her to use her good offices with the pope to secure

<sup>46</sup> *Foreign Cal.*, 1561-2, No. 1013, §§ 1-4.

<sup>47</sup> The seizure of Orleans by Condé, which marked the beginning of civil war, occurred on April 2.

a postponement of the council. The queen, she continued, had written to the princes of Germany to persuade them to take part in it; if they consented, of which Elizabeth was not without hope, England also would send her representatives. Elizabeth was therefore anxious that the French government should detain its ambassadors and bishops until a reply had been received from Germany.<sup>48</sup> In all this no word was said of Elizabeth's uncompromising condemnation of a papal assembly. Catherine represented her as desiring to take part in it and eager to persuade the German protestants to join her. The cardinal received these advances with suspicion. The message which Throgmorton had delivered, notwithstanding the art with which Catherine had disguised it, aimed clearly at delaying the council while leaving Elizabeth free to act as she pleased. Such a plan was altogether unacceptable to Ferrara. While declaring the pope's readiness to grant a postponement, however inconvenient, if the attendance of protestant representatives could thereby be secured, he pointed out that Elizabeth had made no promise. It was impossible, he said, for Pius to accept the certain evil of a postponement in exchange for a vague expression of intentions. He therefore urged the regent and her advisers to send the French delegates without delay. Notwithstanding her own desire to detain them, Catherine was unable to enforce her views. After a short consideration she declared that she accepted the cardinal's advice, and that the French representatives would start at once. Ferrara commended her decision, suggested that she

<sup>48</sup> Baluze-Mansi, iv. 398. Ferrara's letter is dated here March 28, 1562. The correct date is April 10. Šusta, ii. 449.

should instruct her ambassadors to defend English interests at the council, and promised that Elizabeth would obtain the satisfaction of all her reasonable desires from the pope.<sup>49</sup> On April 14 Catherine gave Throgmorton his answer. She repeated her doubts of the utility of the council, but declared that she had been forced to yield to the king of Navarre and his party. When she had proposed to them to delay the French ambassadors and clergy, they had insisted that the promises which had been made to the pope must be kept, and would permit no further delay. She added that she was still anxious to know the result of Elizabeth's communications with the German protestants and to be kept informed of England's proceedings in connexion with the council.<sup>50</sup> This conversation brought Throgmorton's negotiations with Catherine to an end. Her desire for English support and her distrust of the council, as then sitting at Trent, remained unchanged, but she was unable to secure the acceptance of her policy by the statesmen who controlled France. De Lansac started for Trent a few days later, and although the French bishops, with two exceptions,<sup>51</sup> did not proceed thither for several months, the presence there of French ambassadors constituted a public acceptance of the council by France.

Ferrara meanwhile continued in communication with Throgmorton through third parties. He now endeavoured to persuade the ambassador that the deci-

<sup>49</sup> Baluze-Mansi, iv. 399.

<sup>50</sup> *Foreign Cal.*, 1561-2, No. 1013, § 5 sqq.

<sup>51</sup> The bishop of Paris, who arrived at Trent on April 14, 1562, and the bishop of Lavaur, who arrived on May 14. Merkle, *Conc. Trid.*, ii. clxxi, 735, 804.

sion of the French government was not adverse to the interests of England, and hinted that the pope, whom he represented as overflowing with goodwill to Elizabeth, might be willing to arrange for delaying the consideration in the council of any particular subject which specially interested England. Throgmorton, however, refused to take any notice of this suggestion, as lying outside the scope of his instructions.<sup>52</sup>

Catherine, on her side, did not abandon her efforts to secure the adjournment of the council and the attendance of English representatives. A few days after her interview with Throgmorton she received support from an unexpected quarter. Cardinal Lorraine, who arrived at court towards the end of April, joined her in again urging delay on Ferrara. Although a most zealous catholic, Lorraine had always been eager to attract the protestants to Trent, and had been prepared to make considerable concessions in order to secure their attendance.<sup>53</sup> At a conference with Catherine and Ferrara, he now pointed out to the latter that so great an advantage as the presence of English and German protestants would be cheaply bought by a short postponement. He argued further, that it was unwise to give the protestants any reason to complain that their prayers for delay had been rejected without good cause. Encouraged by his support, Catherine renewed her solicitations to Ferrara, and persuaded him, at the

<sup>52</sup> Baluze-Mansi, iv. 403.

<sup>53</sup> He had not escaped suspicion at Rome. In January, 1561, Pius told Vargas 'que el Cardenal de Lorrena estaba dañado y era hereje, o de los protestantes, por hablar con mas honesto vocablo'. Döllinger, *Beiträge*, i. 349.

end of April, to advise the pope to arrange a postponement of twenty-eight or thirty days.<sup>54</sup>

The centre of interest now shifts from Paris to Rome and Trent. The council had reopened on January 18, 1562, but for various reasons its labours were limited during several months to the preparation of business in conferences and congregations. The sessions, at which alone decrees were enacted, were confined almost entirely to formal matters. At the end of April, when de Lansac set out, a session was in prospect for May 14. When that day arrived, the business which was to have been dealt with was not yet ripe, and nothing was done beyond decreeing a further session for June 4. On May 18 de Lansac reached Trent, and about the same time Niquet, abbot of St. Gildas, secretary of Cardinal Ferrara, arrived at Rome, in order to redeem the promise which Ferrara had made to Catherine and the cardinal of Lorraine.<sup>55</sup> Niquet was instructed to say that Elizabeth had given grounds for the belief that if a delay were granted she, and several other protestant princes, would submit to the council. On this account he was to move the pope to arrange a postponement.<sup>56</sup> Such a demand had little prospect of success. The efforts which Ferrara had been making for the last six months to obtain the attendance of English representatives had been coldly looked on at Rome. Pius distrusted Elizabeth, and though he had permitted Ferrara's negotiations to proceed, he had built no hopes

<sup>54</sup> Baluze-Mansi, iv. 405.

<sup>55</sup> Niquet was also commissioned to ask the pope for a subsidy towards the coercion of the Huguenots.

<sup>56</sup> *Instructions et lettres*, 205.

upon them. The abbot was received in audience on May 12, and presented his request for postponement. The pope answered angrily that such demands were made with an evil end, to obstruct and break up the council. He neither could nor would issue any orders to that assembly, which was free, as the French had always insisted that it should be, and could deal with them itself. He inveighed bitterly against de Lansac, whom he accused of behaving like an ambassador of Huguenots, and of being probably a Huguenot at heart.<sup>57</sup> In a letter to Catherine of June 1, he replied to the message which Niquet had brought. He declined absolutely to believe that Elizabeth was in earnest.<sup>58</sup> If she had been she would have listened to his nuncios. The council had already been sitting for several months, and having regard to the sacrifices which bishops had made to attend, he could not ask them to wait longer, more especially as a request of the emperor for delay had been rejected. The council had postponed its next session till June 4; whether it would consent to delay longer he could not say. It was free, and the decision rested with it, in spite of all that was said to the contrary by those who wished for a Huguenot, or Lutheran, or protestant council. But we intend, so Pius concluded, that it shall be catholic. If the queen of England desires to return to holy church, she has time enough; if she does not, God will provide.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>57</sup> *Instructions et lettres*, 185, 205, 231.

<sup>58</sup> Instructions given to Odescalco, a nuncio to Spain, on June 3, express the same view: ‘Di Inghilterra vi havemo parlato a bocca che benchè mostrino di voler mandar al concilio, noi non credemo niente; et tandem bisognerà che la justitia di Dio habbi suo luogo’. Šusta, ii. 478.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, ii. 464.

While Niquet was attempting in vain to secure acceptance of the French views at Rome, de Lansac was pressing them, with equal ill success, at Trent. Although, by sending him, the French government had publicly recognized the council, it still adhered to the old standpoint, that the presence of the protestants was an indispensable condition of its usefulness. In accordance with this policy, de Lansac's instructions required him to insist on the indictment of the council anew, and on its transfer to Spires, Worms, or Constance. If these demands were rejected, he was to say that the council would not profit France, and was to withdraw from attendance.<sup>60</sup> He was also directed to press for a postponement of the forthcoming session (June 4), in the hope of the attendance of representatives from England.<sup>61</sup>

De Lansac arrived at Trent on May 18, had an interview with the legates on the 20th, and assured them that Elizabeth would most certainly send representatives. He had been present, so he told them, when Throgmorton had prayed Catherine to detain her envoys. On that occasion Throgmorton had declared that the imprisoned bishops had already been released in order to be sent to Trent, and that Elizabeth's example in recognizing the council would be followed by Denmark, Sweden, Saxony, and Würtemberg. Catherine had replied that she could not detain the French representatives, but that she would commission him (de Lansac) to entreat the fathers for a

<sup>60</sup> *Instructions et lettres*, 168. *Foreign Cal.*, 1561-2, No. 1046.

<sup>61</sup> De Lansac's instructions do not mention this point, but his proceedings at Trent show that he had received unofficial orders to this effect. *Instructions et lettres*, p. 232.

delay; de Lansac accordingly prayed the legates to put off the consideration of subjects of importance until the English representatives could arrive, which would not be till August.<sup>62</sup> On the following day the ambassador advised the legates to address a letter to Elizabeth in the name of the council, and to send it to her through the cardinal of Ferrara. The letter would set out that the fathers had heard from de Lansac that she contemplated sending her bishops and ambassadors, it would pray her to carry out her laudable intention as early as possible, and would promise her that her representatives would find a free assembly, bent solely on unity and reform, which would receive them with open arms. This proposal was put forward by the Frenchman on his own authority, at the suggestion of some of the bishops at Trent whose names have not been preserved.<sup>63</sup>

In communicating de Lansac's proposals to the pope, the legates stated that they would delay their answer till they had learnt his views. If Pius preferred not to decide himself on the question of a postponement, it might safely be left to the council, which would certainly veto it.<sup>64</sup> The pope's reply, as was to be expected, repeated the answer which he had already given to Niquet. On May 27 Borromeo wrote to the legates that Elizabeth had no other object than to delay the council until the disturbances stirred up by heretics had reached a point which would render its dissolution inevitable. England, Denmark, and Sweden had all refused admission to papal nuncios. If they had repented subsequently, they had had ample time

<sup>62</sup> Šusta, ii. 156, 466. Baluze-Mansi, *Miscellanea*, iv. 233.

<sup>63</sup> Šusta, ii. 157.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 158.

to send ambassadors. On no account could the pope approve of further delay. In order to cut discussion short, he would like the continuation to be formally declared at the forthcoming session (June 4); if the legates considered this course feasible, he wished it to be followed; if not, he empowered them to use his name and authority to reject de Lansac's demands. To the final proposal of the ambassador, that the council should write to Elizabeth, he replied that as she had refused to listen to him it was not fitting that the fathers should address her.<sup>65</sup>

Both the pope and the legates had now considered de Lansac's demand for a postponement. Here the matter rested. The ambassador's official instructions had not touched on the question, and no reference had been made to it in his official communications to the council. It was therefore unnecessary for that body to deal with the subject. If it had done so, its decision would undoubtedly have concurred with that of the pope and the legates. Composed, as it then was, almost exclusively of Spanish and Italian bishops, who were fanatically opposed to any sort of concession to protestants, its one aim was to proceed as speedily as possible to its proper business of defining doctrines and reforming abuses. As a matter of fact, the session of June 4, like its predecessors, passed no decrees save a formal decree of adjournment; but the delay was due to consideration for France and the emperor, and not to any expectation of securing the attendance of the protestant powers.<sup>66</sup>

Thus ended the last attempt to secure the repre-

<sup>65</sup> Šusta, ii. 176, 177.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, ii. 164. Sickel, *Concil von Trient*, 318, 321 sqq.

sentation of England at the council of Trent. The antagonism of the principal parties to the negotiation, the English government and the pope, was too extreme for any accommodation. On the one side, it was impossible for Elizabeth, without imperilling her throne, to recognize a council which was certain, beyond all possibility of doubt, to anathematize the doctrines on which her religious settlement was based. On the other side, it was impossible for the pope to acquiesce in the only kind of council which Elizabeth would recognize, a council, namely, which would sit as his judge, and admit men whom he condemned as heretics to its deliberations. Between these two extremes the cardinal of Ferrara took up an intermediate position. In principle no less orthodox than the pope, he believed that the cause of the church would best be served by attracting the protestants to Trent on almost any terms. To such a man the prospect of persuading Elizabeth must have seemed peculiarly promising. Why should he not succeed with her as he had succeeded with Navarre? Her power of making people believe that she sympathized with the doctrines which her ministers and bishops proscribed kept his hopes alive, notwithstanding the coldness with which she received his advances. But he made no real impression. There was a vast difference between Elizabeth's statesmanship and Navarre's vacillating ambitions, and when she felt inclined to waver, Cecil was at hand to guide her steps. As he remarked to Throgmorton, 'though hir Majesty be at some tyme not hasty this waye, yet whan hir Majesty considereth and heareth reason, she is very well disposed'.<sup>67</sup>

<sup>67</sup> Appendix 42.

## CHAPTER VIII

### ATTENDANCE AT THE ENGLISH CHURCH SERVICE

THREE months after the negotiations for the representation of England at Trent had broken down the council was asked to give a decision on a question of great moment to English catholics, namely the lawfulness of attendance at the services of the Anglican church. In the sixteenth century such attendance was not left to the conscience of individuals. The ecclesiastical law required all men to be present in their parish churches on Sundays and holy days, and to communicate at Easter. Those who absented themselves without reasonable cause were punished in the courts Christian with fine and penance. On Elizabeth's accession the ecclesiastical law was supplemented by a provision of the act of uniformity, which imposed a fine of one shilling for every absence, and at the same time a rubric in the re-enacted Prayer-book increased the obligatory attendances at the communion from one to three. To many Englishmen this law was a grievous burden. In the early days of Elizabeth's reign the number of those who remained attached to the old faith was large. These men were confronted with the question whether they could without mortal sin be present at the services prescribed by the act of uniformity. Strict catholics answered that they could not, because the canons forbade all participation in heretical worship. But the force of custom, the fear

of persecution, and the habit of blind submission to constituted authority were more powerful counsellors. The great majority of Englishmen continued to attend their parish churches under Elizabeth as they had done under Edward and Mary.<sup>1</sup> A minority, probably not large, were more scrupulous. They absented themselves in spite of the law and of the persecution to which their resistance exposed them.

Between these two classes there was a third, which submitted to attend morning and evening prayer but scrupled at the communion. To the earnest catholic the protestant communion was the cup of devils, and various devices were invented for evading the hated ceremony. The most common was to contrive to be absent from home at Easter. In 1563 Sandys, bishop of Worcester, in a series of charges against Sir John Bourne, ex-secretary of Queen Mary, remarked 'if he were putt to triall when and where he received the communion, I thinke it wolde fawll fourth that he received it not synce the Quenes Majesties reigne, for his custome is to shifte ever on Easter even from thone of his howses to thother and so to avoyde that matter'.<sup>2</sup> In 1565 Viscount Montagu told the Spanish ambassador that he always managed, by some means or other, to evade the communion.<sup>3</sup> Another expedient to which the conscientious objector resorted was a celebration in his private chapel, where a compliant priest

<sup>1</sup> Gregory Martin, the translator of the Bible, observed in 1578 that men followed 'their good vicar, which before said Masse, and now preacheth the contrary for advantage, and saith the communion'. *Treatise of Schisme*, 1578, sig. I. iiiii.

<sup>2</sup> *S. P. Dom., Eliz.*, xxviii, No. 42.

<sup>3</sup> Kervyn, *Rel. Pol.*, iv. 189.

ministered in the orthodox way. In 1569 an 'information' by some zealous protestant in the diocese of Chichester stated that 'many gentlemen receyve the communion at home in their Chappells at Easter tynes, and then they chose them oute a preiste for the purpose to mynister unto them there, fetched a good waie of, and do not take their owne mynister of their parische churche, nor receyve not three tymes in the yere in their owne parische churches, as by the law they shoulde doe, and therfore there is some suspition of false packinge [fraud] among them in the mynistring of the communion otherwaiies then it is in the booke established'.<sup>4</sup> Yet another device for evading the law was to allege some quarrel with a neighbour, which placed the objector out of charity and therefore unfitted him to receive the communion.<sup>5</sup> In 1563 Sebastian Westcote, a minor canon of St. Paul's, justified his abstention on the ground that 'he was not in charity, because of certain actions of debt and suretis-ship between him and Sir William Garrett'.<sup>6</sup> Grindal, bishop of London, pronounced the pretext 'merely frivolous', but it no doubt afforded a loophole of escape to many scrupulous souls. Still further expedients are alluded to by Gregory Martin, who condemns the various shifts 'where a man doth . . . deny his faith by many indirect and covert wayes . . . by seeming to receave although he doo not: by geving his name to the vicar as having receaved'.<sup>7</sup>

The differences of practice which prevailed among

<sup>4</sup> *S. P. Dom., Eliz.*, lx, No. 71.

<sup>5</sup> See the rubric in the Prayer-book at the beginning of the order of holy communion.

<sup>6</sup> Strype, *Grindal*, 113.

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.*, sig. C. iii.

catholic laymen were reflected in the counsels of their religious teachers. Many of the Marian clergy who were deprived of their livings early in Elizabeth's reign still contrived to minister in secret to those like-minded with themselves. Among these priests differences of opinion existed as to the lawfulness of attendance, some condemning it altogether, others authorizing a certain amount of compliance. Thus Doctor Alban Langdale, a learned divine who lived in the house of Viscount Montagu, and Johnson, another priest, whose opinion was highly esteemed, held the view that it was not sin to go to protestant churches in order to avoid persecution, provided a protest was made that the attendance was rendered in obedience to the queen.<sup>8</sup> Robert Pursglove, who had been bishop suffragan of Hull for twenty years and was deprived of his preferments by Elizabeth, also advocated conformity.<sup>9</sup> On the other hand, the stricter catholics, of whom Allen (afterwards Cardinal Allen) was the most noted representative, condemned absolutely all participation in the English services. When in England between 1562 and 1565 he never ceased to denounce such compliance as a heinous sin, so heinous that a man who was defiled by it could in no wise remain in the Christian communion.<sup>10</sup> His example was followed by Sanders, another great name among catholics, who wrote in 1567 'and whereas there is a rumour spread by certain men, that this going to schismatical service is, or may be wincked at, or dispensed in the Catholikes, of certaintie it is not so. But rather by this key-cold demeanour of the Catholikes, we may perceave how

<sup>8</sup> *Cath. Rec. Soc.*, ii. 28, 61, 178; iv. 4.

<sup>9</sup> Appendix 43.      <sup>10</sup> T. F. Knox, *Letters and Memorials*, 5, 56.

just God was in punishing them with heresie, in whom he saw so little true and harty faith, that for feare of a small temporal losse, they can be content to put in hazard their everlasting salvation. The disesease is great, it needeth a sharpe medecine.'<sup>11</sup>

When the opinions of local authorities were thus divided it was natural that the catholics should desire the ruling of a higher tribunal. The meeting of the council of Trent afforded an opportunity of obtaining what they sought. They therefore resolved to appeal to it. A public reference was of course out of the question. Whatever was done must be done in the deepest secrecy. Accordingly they drew up a paper stating their case, of which they gave copies to the Portuguese and Spanish ambassadors with the request that the fathers at Trent might be asked to give a decision upon it. Their object in making the reference through both ambassadors was no doubt to ensure that it reached its destination. In this they were wise, for the paper delivered to de Quadra stopped short at Rome. What happened to it there will be stated later. The document presented to the Portuguese ambassador was sent by him to Mascareynas, the representative of Portugal at Trent, and was duly presented to the legates. Although, for obvious reasons, it bore no names, it purported to express the wishes of almost all the catholic nobles of England. The authority to whom it was addressed is not stated, but as it refers to him as 'Illustrissima dominatio' and 'sanctus et nobilis pater', and prays him to use his influence with his friends on the council, he must have been a member of that body. The contents of the petition were briefly

<sup>11</sup> N. Sanders, *A Treatise of the Images of Christ*, Sig. A. iii.

as follows. Many catholics, so it began, who had been or were in danger of being imprisoned for recusancy were urged by their friends to conform, at any rate so far as to attend church during the singing of psalms and reading of the Bible in English and while sermons were preached. These persecuted sufferers were ready to yield to their friends' solicitations if they could do so without peril to their souls, but they preferred to endure all extremities rather than offend God or endanger their eternal salvation. The council of Trent was therefore asked to decide whether conformity to the extent stated was lawful. No allusion was made to the communion, which was evidently regarded as outside the pale of any possible concession. Reference was then made to the danger of examining the question in a general congregation, lest the English government should get to know of it and increase the rigour of the persecution; and it was suggested that the petition should be laid before a secret committee, whose ruling should be declared to be as valid as a decree of the whole council. Finally, the document stated that theologians in England were divided on the subject, some refusing through fear to give any decision, others varying in their rulings.<sup>12</sup>

The petition of the catholics was delivered by Mascareynas to the legates on August 2,<sup>13</sup> and was sent by them to Rome for the orders of the pope.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Appendix 44.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> Šusta, ii. 296, 297. In his *Societas Jesu Apostolorum Imitatrix* (1694), p. 350, Tanner states that Darbyshire, who had been Bonner's Chancellor, was the emissary of the English catholics. According to this story Darbyshire, having been deprived of his preferments, lived for some time in great honour among his fellow catholics and was

From this point onwards official records are silent. Neither the Vatican archives nor other repositories of conciliar documents, so far as they have been explored, contain any record of the pope's answer to the legates or of any subsequent action of the council.<sup>15</sup> The further history of the incident must be gathered from a less trustworthy source, namely from pamphlets issued nearly twenty years later. At that time the question of conformity still divided English catholics, some of whom, commonly called church-papists,<sup>15</sup> attended church, while others held resolutely aloof. In 1578 Gregory Martin, the translator of the Bible, a supporter of the stricter views, published his *Treatise of Schisme*, which contains the following reference

sent by them to Trent to obtain the council's ruling. He returned with it to England, was committed to prison, where he was comforted by a miraculous vision, and after a time was banished the realm. It is probable that this story is in part apocryphal. Having been deprived of his preferments in 1559, Derbyshire was committed to the Fleet on February 21, 1561 (*Cath. Rec. Soc.*, i. 48), but was discharged, or transferred to another prison, soon after, as his name does not appear in a list of Fleet prisoners of midsummer, 1561 (*Ibid.* 52, 53). In a list of recusants which must have been drawn up not earlier than August 6, 1562 (*S. P. Dom., Eliz., Addenda*, xi. 45; printed by Dr. Gee, *Elizabethan Clergy*, 176, 184), he appears as having 'fled over seas'. In an account which he gave of himself in 1563 or 1564 he says that he was compelled by the heretics to fly for his life (*Mon. hist. soc. Jesu, Epist. P. Nadal*, ii. 585, 586). It is possible that when he fled from England he took with him a commission from the catholics to lay their case before the council; but the rest of Tanner's story, that he returned, was imprisoned, and was finally banished, is not confirmed by contemporary evidence and is inconsistent with his own account of himself.

<sup>15</sup> Naunton, *Fragmenta Regalia*. *Harl. Misc.*, ii. 91. H. N. Birt, *Elizabethan Religious Settlement*, 521.

—the first in point of time that I have met with—to the decision of the fathers at Trent: ‘To ende, and, as it were, to bind fast the conclusion of al these reasons with the verdict of the Church, and ecclesiastical Fathers of our time, when the question was moved in the Council of Trent, to satisfie the doubtful consciences, chiefly of our countrymen, Twelve of the best learned (one *Petrus a Soto*) chosen by the Council to decide it, pronounced, *omnino non licere*, that it was in no case lawful. Being in England I saw their short discourse in writing. It is also the judgement of the best learned Fathers and Professors in Rome, Jesuites. And of so many as are found Cotholike [*sic*] divines, of upright judgement, that have no foolish pietie, to sooth the feareful humour of their carnal frendes.’<sup>16</sup> In 1580 the Jesuit Parsons, another vehement opponent of conformity, referred to the question as follows in his *Brief Discours*: ‘Howbeit, some doubt beinge at that tyme,<sup>17</sup> moved by certaine of the Nobilitye of England: whether they might not lawfully without offence goe to Church to doe some meere tem-

<sup>16</sup> *A Treatise of Schisme, &c.* By Gregory Martin. Duaci, 1578, sig. C. v, end of cap. i. Martin left England in 1570. His statement that he saw the ruling of the fathers before he left thus shows that it was circulating there a very few years after it purported to have been pronounced. Dodd states that when Allen was in Lancashire between 1562 and 1565 he quoted the ruling in order to dissuade catholics from attending church. Dodd’s words are ‘he [Allen] acquaints them [the Lancashire catholics] that the fathers in the council of Trent had been consulted upon the case, and a select number, having examined it, had sent over a declaration concerning the practice, in the negative’. (Dodd, *Church History*, ii. 45.) So far as I can discover, the contemporary document from which Dodd probably drew this information is not extant.

<sup>17</sup> i. e. when the council was sitting.

porall acte (as, to beare the sword before her Majestie or the lyke): it was debated by xii learned men there, at the Councels appoynment, and determination then geven, that onlye for suche a cause, they myght goe to Churche. As for example, if her Majestie should appoynt certayne Catholyckes, to meete at Poules, to intreate of matters of the state, and that at suche tyme as service were sayde there; and this was Naaman Syrus his case (4 Reg. 5), flat [sic] who was permitted (as most men take it), for a tyme, to goe with his Kinge and hould hym up upon his shoulder, when he went to the temples of the Idoles.<sup>18</sup>

Some years later another pamphlet was published without date, place, or name of author, which purports to give the actual ruling of the fathers at Trent.<sup>19</sup> This pamphlet begins with a preface in which the author remarks that the Latin of the document which he prints is perhaps defective and begs his readers to compare it 'with some one or other of many which I thinke be in the Realme, that there may not want that perfection in this Treatise, which so profitable and excellent a thing doth require: I myselfe could meete with but one copy, which I have had lying by me these many yeeres'. Then follows the document itself, containing, first, the

<sup>18</sup> *A brief Discours contayning certayne reasons why Catholiques refuse to goe to church.* Doway, 1580, p. 24. The imprint 'Doway' was fictitious. The book was printed at a secret press in England.

<sup>19</sup> The pamphlet is entitled *The Declaration of the Fathers of the Councell of Trent, concerning the going unto churches, at such time as hereticall service is saied, or heresy preached.* It was probably published between 1582 and 1600. It was reprinted in 1850 by Mendham under the pseudonym of Eupator. There are copies of the original pamphlet in the libraries of Cambridge University and of the Incorporated Law Society.

memorial presented to the legates by the Portuguese ambassador, and secondly, the decision of the council.<sup>20</sup> The decision purports to be addressed to English catholics by the assembled fathers at Trent, commends their constancy, and records that the question which they had asked had been referred to a committee whose opinion was to be regarded as possessing equal weight with that of the whole council. The committee was composed of two archbishops, two bishops, the general of the Jesuits, Laynez, and five theologians and doctors, the most notable among whom was Pedro de Soto, a Dominican, who had been a prominent figure in England in Mary's reign. This committee, so the document proceeds, held several meetings, made an exhaustive examination of authorities, and decided unanimously that attendance at the heretical services specified in the memorial was mortal sin, to be avoided at whatever cost. Then follows a statement at great length of the usual arguments by which catholic writers supported their condemnation of attendance at protestant services.

A second pamphlet of Parsons, published in 1607, gives a further item of information.<sup>21</sup> The greater part of this pamphlet is taken up with the refutation of what Parsons describes as 'scriptum quoddam incerti

<sup>20</sup> This same document, with unimportant variations, was printed in 1660 in More's *Historia missionis Anglicanae societatis Jesu*, p. 66. More does not mention the *provenance* of his copy, merely remarking that he prints it in order to show what was the opinion of the council of Trent on the question of attendance at the English service.

<sup>21</sup> The pamphlet is entitled *Quaestiones duae de sacris alienis non adeundis, &c.* 1607. It is anonymous, but internal evidence (see p. 35) shows Parsons to have been its author.

authoris pro audiendis Haereticorum concionibus in ANGLIA divulgatum'.<sup>22</sup> The unknown writer, while admitting that the council had condemned attendance, had disputed the authority of its ruling on the ground that the question was not put properly before it.<sup>23</sup> To this Parsons answers that Sanders, the famous English theologian, who was at Trent with Cardinal Hosius, one of the legates, explained the whole situation in England to the fathers both by word of mouth and by writing.<sup>24</sup> There is no reason to doubt the accuracy of Parsons' statement, which thus supplies additional proof that the question did actually come before a committee of theologians at Trent.<sup>25</sup>

It is nevertheless difficult to accept the *Declaration of the Fathers* as strictly historical. Its form exposes it to suspicion. The official pronouncements of catholic

<sup>22</sup> I have not succeeded in tracing this work.

<sup>23</sup> The same argument is advanced in a paper justifying attendance which Parsons ascribed to Dr. A. Langdale (*S. P., Dom., Eliz.*, cxliv, No. 69. *Cath. Rec. Soc.*, ii. 28). In reply to the assertion that the practice had been forbidden by the fathers at Trent the writer says : 'It appereth not by theirc answere that the case was there as yt is here sett downe to them, and therfore what they wold have answered to this case yt is not knownen'.

<sup>24</sup> Appendix 45.

<sup>25</sup> A reference to the subject is found in an unexpected quarter. In 1571, when negotiating for her marriage with the duke of Anjou, Elizabeth required him to promise to attend her to church. She wrote : 'why he should not, or may not use our manner of prayrs and divine Service, certainly we think no reason can be yielded by any that knoweth the same, and will compare it to that which the Church of Rome doeth usc ; For in ours, there is no part that hath not been, yea that is not at this day used in the Church of Rome, as of late the same hath been allowed by the last Councill at Trent'. Digges, *Compleat Ambassador*, 98.

theologians on specific questions are usually concise, sparing of reasons and unadorned by rhetoric. The document which Mendham reprinted is extremely diffuse, argumentative, and rhetorical. One is inclined to doubt whether it was drawn up by the Trent theologians in the form in which we possess it. This suspicion receives support from a contemporary manuscript in Oscott College library, entitled *An answer to a comfortable advertisement*. After alluding, in the body of the treatise, to the ruling of the council, the writer adds in a postscript that he has just received from a friend a copy of the actual text, which he appends.<sup>26</sup> On referring to the *Declaration of the Fathers* the exact words of this text are found embedded in it.<sup>27</sup> It may, therefore, be assumed with confidence that these words are the formal opinion, to use a legal term, of the committee. Whether the rest of the *Declaration* was actually drawn up by the Trent theologians cannot be stated with certainty. What probably happened was that some one at Trent, very possibly Sanders, prepared a narrative which embodied the English petition and the ruling of the committee, and set out the arguments which had been urged before and accepted by that body. This narrative was sent to England immediately after, was known to Allen between 1562 and 1565 and to Martin before 1570, and after circulating for a number of years in manuscript was printed towards the end of the century, possibly with later accretions, as the *Declaration of the Fathers*.

It remains to consider what authority attaches to the

<sup>26</sup> Appendix 46.

<sup>27</sup> Page 23 of Mendham's reprint.

committee's opinion and what action was taken on it. Contemporary writers refer to it in general terms as the finding, or judgement, of the council of Trent. This description, however, is not strictly accurate. The opinion was not a pronouncement of the council as a body. It was a common practice for the legates to refer special questions to committees, but such committees merely had power to advise and report, they were not authorized to speak with the voice of the united assembly. What is loosely described as the judgement of the council was the finding of such a committee. In ordinary course this finding, after being approved by the pope, would have been considered in a general congregation and a canon or decree condemning attendance at English services would have been framed for adoption at a session. That this was not done must have been due to consideration for the English catholics. The proceedings of a general congregation, and still more certainly a decree enacted in a public session, could not have remained hidden from the English government, which would have made it a pretext for more rigorous persecution. The fear of this danger prevented the finding of the committee from being converted into a formal decree. It carries with it the authority of the theologians who framed it, but not of the council as a body. If the question had come before the assembled fathers there can be no doubt that they would have adopted the opinion of the committee. The Italian and Spanish bishops who formed the great bulk of the council in the autumn of 1562 regarded the slightest divergence from strict Roman doctrine with abhorrence. In their eyes the English service-book, even apart from the order of communion, stood con-

demned by the mere fact that it was framed in schism and enacted by laymen.<sup>28</sup>

Finally, what official action was taken on the com-

<sup>28</sup> Dixon's account of this transaction (*History*, v. 429) contains several mistakes. He says that the question was first brought before the whole council and that the fathers answered it affirmatively. At this stage, he proceeds, a merciful decree might have been registered but for a protest of Cardinal Toletus. A reference was then made to the pope, with the result that the question was laid before a committee of Trent theologians by whom a negative answer was given. The first part of this account is apocryphal, and seems to be based on a misunderstanding of a passage in More's *Historia* (p. 66) which Dixon quotes in its support. More says that the unlawfulness of attendance was first established by the decision of the council, and that the council's opinion was confirmed by a dictum of Cardinal Toletus. Toletus was a famous theologian of the latter part of the sixteenth century who became a cardinal in 1593. There is no evidence that he was present at the council, except possibly as a private spectator, thirty years earlier. The question was certainly not referred to the whole council, it is highly improbable that the fathers were at any time disposed to give an affirmative answer, and whatever action may have been taken at Trent Toletus had no concern with it. The dictum which More quotes was delivered by Toletus nearly twenty years later under the circumstances stated in the following extract from a contemporary pamphlet: 'Whan therfore the statute of the monthly penalty for going to the Church [23 Eliz., 1581, cap. 1] came forth: he which was than President of the Colledge of Rhemes . . . tooke his journey to Paris and there in the Sorbonists College had the case disputed, and resolved that it was altogether unlawfull. Wherupon he made sute unto the King which than was [Henry III] that he would be a meane unto her Majestie to suspend the execution of the statute for one yeare, but he breeding than [then] that which afterwardes he brought fourth, answered that he wolde not deale therin. Not contented with this, with fatherly care he wrote to Rome to the Reverend Father Frauncise Toledo a man of knownen learning and practise, from whom he had this answere which I will presently sett downe, which was carried into our countrey by one Mr. Edward Stransam now a Saincte in heaven, and delivered unto a Reverend

mittee's ruling? Did it receive the approval of the pope, and did he direct that it should be accepted as binding by English catholics? In the silence of contemporary records no certain answer can be given. The statement has been made that the decision was confirmed by Pius V in 1566.<sup>29</sup> The authority seems to be a letter of Laurence Vaux, a catholic divine, but Vaux merely says that Pius prohibited attendance; the letter contains no reference to the council of Trent.<sup>30</sup> Although it is certain that the ruling of the committee was in accordance with the views of the pope, there is nothing to show that he issued any orders to English catholics directing them to obey it. No reference to such orders has survived in contemporary writings.

We now turn to Rome, where action was taken on the question of church attendance at the same time

Priest unto whom he related this wholle history as the same hath lately imparted it unto me.' Then follows the cardinal's ruling, the same as is given by More. The above quotation is taken from p. 159 of a pamphlet entitled *A treatise of Christian renunciation . . . wherunto is added a shorte discourse against going to Hereticall Churches with a Protestation*. Cf. *Cath. Rec. Soc.*, v. 121, where Father Pollen remarks that only two copies of the tract are known, in the libraries of Cambridge University and Oscott. I may note that there is a third in the library of the Incorporated Law Society. Father Pollen ascribes the tract to Garnet, the Jesuit, but I think that he is perhaps confusing it with Garnet's *Treatise of Christian Renovation or Birth*. On August 8, 1581, Allen wrote to the cardinal of Como that the ruling of Toletus had been sent to England and was generally accepted. T. F. Knox, *Letters and Memorials*, 100.

<sup>29</sup> By Simpson, in *The Rambler*, N.S. viii. 403, and by Bridgett, who copies Simpson, in his *Catholic Hierarchy*, 45.

<sup>30</sup> *S. P. Dom., Eliz.*, xli, No. 1. Printed in Chetham Soc., N.S. 4. xxxii. Cf. also the letter of Harding and Sanders to Morone in Meyer, *England und die k. Kirche*, 412.

that it was being considered at Trent. As has been mentioned above,<sup>31</sup> the English catholics gave a copy of their petition to the Spanish as well as the Portuguese ambassador.<sup>32</sup> With a disregard of their wishes which is somewhat surprising, de Quadra, instead of sending the paper to Trent, forwarded it to Vargas, the Spanish ambassador at Rome, with the suggestion that it should be submitted to the pope, who, in de Quadra's opinion, was better qualified to deal with it than the council. The letter with which he transmitted it gave a curious, but by no means correct, account of the position of the catholics. It began by remarking that the case was novel, hardly coming within the four corners of the canon law which regulated communication with heretics. Catholicism was prohibited by law in England, where every one was compelled under pain of death to live as a heretic. Accordingly the *coactio* to which the canon law referred was absolute. In the second place, the petition was not concerned with the communion, but merely asked whether attendance at the common prayer was lawful. Now this common prayer, so de Quadra continued, contains nothing impious; it is composed of extracts from the Bible and devotions copied from catholic models, with intercessions to the saints omitted. Attendance at such prayers was not wrong in itself, apart from the evil of dissimulation and setting a bad example. Catholics in London had approached him for guidance which he had found it

<sup>31</sup> p. 163.

<sup>32</sup> The copy given to de Quadra is not extant, but it may be inferred almost with certainty that it was a duplicate of the one which his Portuguese colleague sent to Trent.

difficult to give, since on the one hand he hesitated to condemn those who conformed, and on the other he did not wish to encourage the constant to yield. He had, therefore, soothed the consciences of the former by minimizing the gravity of their sin, and had refused to authorize the latter to give way. In these circumstances of doubt he considered it very necessary that some authoritative decision should be given, and this he asked Vargas to obtain from the pope.

He then turned to another subject. Many men, he said, who had been heretics and were so no longer were anxious to receive sacramental absolution. There was no one in England who could absolve them, and even if there were few would dare to have recourse to him, for cases had occurred in which priests, through fear of torture, had betrayed the names of their penitents and brought down persecution upon them. De Quadra had endeavoured to console these tender consciences by pointing out that the impossibility of fulfilling the law of the church relieved them from the consequences of non-compliance. This answer did not satisfy them, and they continued to urge him, both for their own relief and as a means of encouraging others to penitence, that the pope should be moved to take some action in their behalf, such as to issue a declaration which would cancel the temporal penalties of their heresy and at the same time operate as sacramental absolution. Although de Quadra doubted the utility of such a declaration, he nevertheless recommended the prayer of the catholics for consideration in view of the learning and virtue of the men who made it.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Appendix 47. Cf. Maitland, *Collected Papers*, iii. 177.

The manner in which the ambassador presented the case of the English petitioners leaves no room for doubt that he hoped to receive an answer authorizing their attendance at the Anglican common prayer. His eagerness led him into an exaggeration which bordered on direct falsehood. In the first place, his reference to *metus*, fear, and *coactio*, compulsion, was misleading. Canonists drew a distinction between *metus*, which constrained a man through dread of consequences to do what he did not wish, and *coactio absoluta*, or *vis precisa*, which compelled him to do it by irresistible physical force. *Metus* did not excuse the commission of an act which, when committed voluntarily, was mortal sin, whereas *coactio absoluta* did.<sup>34</sup> On the strength of this distinction de Quadra argued that catholics were the victims of *coactio absoluta*, which was equivalent to saying what he knew perfectly well to be untrue, that they were dragged bodily to church. In the second place his statement that men were forced on pain of death to live as heretics was an exaggeration. The worst that could happen to a recusant in 1562 was imprisonment, and in the early days of Elizabeth the catholics who suffered prolonged imprisonment were few.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>34</sup> *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, 1584, ii. 471. *Decretal. Gregor. IX*, Lib. i, Tit. xl, cap. 5, *sacris*. Panormitanus, *Super secunda prime*, 152.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Maitland, *loc. cit.* Maitland is mistaken in saying that the catholics exaggerated their woes. The exaggeration came from de Quadra, not from them. He is also mistaken in implying that the sole punishment for abstention from church was a twelve-penny fine. This was the punishment imposed by the act of uniformity, but the authorities could, and often did, proceed under the ecclesiastical law. In that case a recusant was excommunicated and committed to

The letter of the ambassador and the petition of the catholics were placed before the pope, who referred them to the congregation of the inquisition. The inquisitors were informed that a certain kingdom—England was not mentioned by name—had forbidden catholicism under pain of death, and required its subjects to attend at heretical services consisting of psalms in the vulgar tongue, extracts from the Bible, and sermons inculcating heresy. The question was asked —may catholics take part in these services without incurring the risk of eternal damnation? The answer given (October 2, 1562), as might be expected from a tribunal presided over by Cardinal Ghislieri, the future Pius V, was an absolute negative. De Quadra's sophistries were ignored. The inquisitors pointed out that the object of the petitioners was to escape persecution by passing themselves off as heretics. Their duty, so the stern sentence ran, was very different, not to partake in the errors of heretics, but to protest against them. Their obedience was due to God, who said 'whosoever shall be ashamed of me and of my words, of him shall the Son of man be ashamed',<sup>36</sup> rather than to men who commanded what was contrary to God's law.<sup>37</sup> In this pronouncement the inquisitors went straight to the root of the question. Being no doubt aware that the great object of the English government was to secure outward conformity, they

prison under a writ *de excommunicato capiendo* or a warrant of the ecclesiastical commissioners. If he refused to submit there was no limit to the imprisonment which he might suffer.

<sup>36</sup> St. Luke ix. 26.

<sup>37</sup> Appendix 48. The opinion was signed by three inquisitors, of whom one was the future pope, Sixtus V.

gave a ruling which made it impossible for a loyal Romanist to set foot in an Anglican church. Whatever the penalty, he was bound to face it rather than submit. If the choice lay between church and the gallows, to the gallows he must go.<sup>38</sup> Rome spoke with a voice no less decisive than the voice of Trent.

As we have seen above, de Quadra's reference, besides raising the question of attendance at the English service, had asked that some provision might be made for readmitting repentant heretics to the church. In catholic countries such a penitent was absolved by the pope or his deputy, a temporal penalty, or penance, was imposed, and when it had been performed the process of reconciliation was complete. In England, at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, the machinery for executing this procedure did not exist; no local spiritual authority had jurisdiction to reconcile the penitents who had appealed to de Quadra.<sup>39</sup> The orthodox way of meeting the difficulty was for the pope to delegate the necessary authority to ecclesiastics in England. De Quadra's petitioners, however, through fear of persecution, hoped that some special procedure might be devised by which they could be reconciled without danger of betrayal to the English government. They wished the pope to make a declaration that men in their position, if they were truly contrite, enjoyed *ipso facto* all the benefits of sacramental

<sup>38</sup> This is Maitland's remark, *loc. cit.*

<sup>39</sup> In Mary's reign authority to reconcile heretics had been given to bishops and many subordinate ecclesiastics (*Cardwell, Doc. annals*, (1844) i. 171), but these powers could not be used in favour of the men with whom we are now concerned, since they, after reunion with the church under Mary, had relapsed into heresy under Elizabeth.

absolution and were relieved of all the temporal penalties of their sin. By this device all risk of discovery was avoided. The declaration recorded by the pope in Rome would operate automatically in England in favour of all who were in the proper mental state.

In forwarding these curious proposals to Rome de Quadra evidently saw little prospect of their acceptance. He regarded them as impracticable, and transmitted them, not on their merits, but out of consideration for the men who made them. The opinion of the inquisitors on this point was brief and vague. They merely remarked that the matter might be left to the discretion of the ambassador. Acting on this suggestion, and ignoring the proposal of the English petitioners, the pope adopted the procedure which had already been employed when Wolf was sent to Ireland.<sup>40</sup> He wrote a letter to de Quadra, which empowered the latter to reconcile to the church all penitents who renounced their errors and abjured them to him in secret, and required him to impose such salutary penances as might seem to him appropriate. He was further authorized to delegate his functions to qualified English priests.<sup>41</sup>

De Quadra learnt the pope's decision at the beginning of November. We shall hardly be wrong if we assume that it gave him little satisfaction. The ruling on church attendance dashed all hopes of compromise, while the brief invested him with functions which could not easily be reconciled with his duties as an ambassador. Before taking action he asked Philip for orders, pointing out that if the queen learnt that he was exercising the pope's authority on her subjects she

<sup>40</sup> *Supra*, p. 106.

<sup>41</sup> Appendix 49.

would certainly make his doings a matter of complaint. On the other hand, the reconciliation of penitent heretics was so obviously good a work that he was very reluctant to leave it undone. He therefore proposed to undertake the duty which Pius had laid upon him, but as a precaution to put nothing in writing, merely authorizing a few trustworthy priests by word of mouth to give absolution.<sup>42</sup> Philip's answer to the letter is not extant, and it will therefore never be known whether he permitted de Quadra to exercise his powers under the brief. Since it was the king's settled policy to abstain from interfering between Elizabeth and her catholic subjects it is more probable that he refused. In any case de Quadra can have made little use of his powers, for he died in August, 1563, and no mention of any reconciliation of catholics by his aid is found in contemporary books or correspondence.<sup>43</sup> The ruling on church attendance was buried in a similar oblivion. None of the writers on the subject, neither Sanders, Allen, Martin, nor Parsons, refer to it, an almost certain proof that it was not known to them. This circumstance increases the probability that Philip forbade de Quadra to take any action on the papal rulings.

Although no practical result followed from the pope's

<sup>42</sup> *Spanish Cal.*, 267. Kervyn, *Rel. Pol.*, iii. 179, 191.

<sup>43</sup> In May, 1563, when his chaplain was suspected of aiding a catholic prisoner to escape, de Quadra wrote to Philip that he was very anxious to keep the man out of the hands of the government because he had given absolution to many English catholics. (*Spanish Cal.*, 324. Kervyn, *Rel. Pol.*, iii. 365, 400, 452, 499.) This remark may possibly refer to action under the papal brief, but more probably it alludes to the hearing of ordinary confessions. De Quadra's chaplain was a foreigner and, as such, not qualified to be empowered under the brief.

orders on the English petition, I have narrated the incident at length because it illustrates in a striking way the attitude of Rome to England. The object of de Quadra's petitioners was simple. They shrank from persecution, and desired to avoid it by making an outward show of conformity ; they therefore asked leave to attend a service which in de Quadra's opinion contained nothing repugnant to catholic doctrine. But the last place where they were likely to find sympathy was Rome. In 1562 the English schism was only three years old, and Pius had not lost hope that either by persuasion or force, more probably by the latter, the religious settlement of 1559 would shortly be overthrown. A pope who held such views was under no temptation to stretch a point in order to alleviate the sufferings of lay catholics. On the contrary, the more intolerable their condition the more ready would they be to co-operate in a restoration. Pius was very far from being indifferent to their woes, which filled him with compassion ; but his first duty, as he conceived it, was to reconquer England to the church, and in the exercise of that duty he was bound to veto any proposal that might render the task more difficult. He therefore refused to make the slightest relaxation of the canon law which forbade attendance at the devotions of heretics.

## CHAPTER IX

### THE PROPOSAL TO EXCOMMUNICATE ELIZABETH

SEVERAL months now elapsed before Rome or Trent again concerned itself with England. In May, 1563, news reached London from Rome, Spain, and Trent that fresh plans, in which Philip of Spain was the moving spirit, were being formed for the excommunication of Elizabeth.<sup>1</sup> The rumour was unjust to Philip, who was hostile to anything of the kind,<sup>2</sup> but it was a fact that in two far distant places, Rome and Louvain, the subject was engaging the attention of theologians and exiles. At Rome the question of heresy in high places came several times before the pope in the spring of 1563. On March 31 Cardinal Châtillon, brother of Admiral Coligny, was excommunicated and deprived of his benefices;<sup>3</sup> on April 7 Pius issued a bull

<sup>1</sup> Kervyn, *Rel. Pol.*, iii. 414.

<sup>2</sup> A summary of a letter from Vargas to Philip dated May 6 contains the following passage: 'Que se halla allí [at Rome] cierto ingles de quien otras veces ha dado aviso, y le avian algunos persuadido, que instasse a su Santidad para que en el Concilio la reyna de ynglaterra fuese privada, y el se lo avia dissuadido de manera que no hablara mas en ello.' *Archivo general de Simancas. Secretaría de Estado.* Legajo 895. Philip replied on June 9 approving Vargas's action 'porque no conviene en esta sazon mover estos humores'. *R. O. Roman Transcripts*, vol. 69. From *Vat. Archives. Archivio particolare*. The previous references to the unknown Englishman of which Vargas speaks are not found in his extant correspondence.

<sup>3</sup> Baronius (Raynaldus), *Annales*, xxxiv. 375. *Acad. de Reims*, xxvii. 157.

instructing the Roman inquisition to proceed against heretical bishops and their supporters;<sup>4</sup> a week later, April 13, eight French bishops were cited to appear before it within six months and answer charges of heresy.<sup>5</sup> Proceedings having thus been undertaken against transgressors in the ecclesiastical order, Pius turned his attention to royal criminals.

In the sixteenth century the law of the church, as laid down by the fourth Lateran council, was regarded by many catholics as still in full force. By this law a temporal ruler who omitted to cleanse his dominions of heresy was liable in the first instance to excommunication by the bishops of his province. If he failed to obey within a year, the pope intervened and gave his dominions to another ruler, whose duty it was to exterminate the heretics.<sup>6</sup> When a general council was sitting it combined the power of bishop and pope, and the denunciation of the censures of the church on heretics in high places was commonly regarded as among its principal duties. While catholics were generally agreed, as a matter of theory, that it was the duty of pope and council to proceed against heretical princes, there was a wide difference of opinion as to the time and manner in which the duty should be performed. On the one hand it was argued that a ruling sovereign ought not to be molested unless means existed for enforcing the sentence. Fruitless anathemas, it was said, were more likely to discredit than to further true religion. On the other hand it was held

<sup>4</sup> *Revue des questions historiques*, lxxvi. 63.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 62.

<sup>6</sup> Mansi, *Concilia*, xxii. 987. *Decretal. Gregor. IX*, Lib. v, tit. 7, cap. 13, § 3. It was no doubt under this canon that White proposed to act in 1559. *Supra*, p. 53.

that the duty was imperative on pope and council, who were bound to discharge it, on occasion arising, without regard for expediency. The milder view, as might be expected, was commonly held by catholic sovereigns. Philip of Spain and the emperor were strongly opposed to the pronouncement of spiritual censures in circumstances in which there was no prospect of carrying them into effect.

Upholders of the opposite opinion were commonly found among churchmen. The Marian bishops, from their prison in the Tower, and the exiles for religion from Rome and Louvain, were among its most strenuous supporters. As we have already seen, the bishops had approved in 1561 of a proposal to excommunicate Elizabeth.<sup>7</sup> An emphatic statement of the arguments in favour of that course is contained in a paper which was submitted to Cardinal Morone by some unknown Englishman between 1561 and 1563.<sup>8</sup> The writer is concerned mainly to answer the objections drawn from expediency. He points out that an obvious duty must be performed regardless of consequences, that the imprisoned catholics in England were urgent for action, and that lack of support

<sup>7</sup> *Supra*, p. 122.

<sup>8</sup> *Eng. Hist. Rev.* vii. 81. Creighton (*loc. cit.*) dates the paper 1563 because, in his opinion, it contains a reference to the repressive legislation of the parliament of 1563 (January 11–April 10). I think he is mistaken. The writer says that in England the maximum punishment for recusancy is perpetual imprisonment. This was true of the legislation of 1559, under which the maximum penalty was imprisonment, but not of that of 1563 (5 Eliz. cap. 1), which added the penalty of death. The repressive legislation of which the paper speaks cannot, therefore, be that of 1563 and must be that of 1559.

from temporal powers did not justify the church in doing nothing. To the argument that the excommunication of Elizabeth would lead to increased persecution it was replied that the catholics already suffered the utmost that the law could inflict, namely perpetual imprisonment. They could not be put to death without a new act of parliament, which was not likely to be passed. Even in the improbable event of Elizabeth taking their lives without sanction of law their martyrdom would greatly benefit the church. The writer then turned to another objection, that no result would follow from the sentence. To this he answered that it would encourage the English catholics to rebel. The mere rumour that the nuncio Martinengo was coming had created such a stir in England that Elizabeth had not dared to admit him. If the simple message of the pope produced such an effect, what might not be expected from the judgement of a general council? The paper ended with the remark that the sentence might possibly lead to Elizabeth's early death, whether by a miracle or by assassination was not stated, and that therefore it was expedient to pronounce it in the hope that by its means her soul might be saved.

How far arguments of this kind had weight with Pius cannot be stated, but he no doubt held the current view of churchmen that it was incumbent on a general council to proceed against heretical princes. Accordingly on June 2 Cardinal Borromeo wrote to the legates that since it would be the duty of the council to condemn the queen of England, the protestants, and the Huguenots, the pope desired them to consider how they should deal with the matter and what action

should be taken by him, and to let him have their opinion early, more especially as regards the queen of England.<sup>9</sup>

At the time when this letter was written theologians were on their way from Louvain with proposals of a similar kind. Louvain was the head-quarters of a number of exiles who had been driven out of England by persecution and occupied themselves, after the manner of exiles, with schemes for the restoration of their party and their religion. In 1561, as we have already seen,<sup>10</sup> they had been in communication with Cardinal Morone, in 1562 they remained quiescent, now, in 1563, they began to move again. There is nothing to show why they chose this particular time to resume their activity. Probably the proceedings of the recent English parliament<sup>11</sup> and the prospect of an early termination of the council convinced them that no time was to be lost. However this may be, three Flemish bishops and three Louvain theologians who reached Trent at the beginning of June brought with them a demand for the excommunication of Elizabeth.<sup>12</sup> The names of the authors of this proposal are not known. They were no doubt the leading English exiles, working, as in 1561, in secret consultation with the imprisoned bishops. The contemporary diarist Paleotto states as much,<sup>13</sup> and Philip wrote to the same

<sup>9</sup> Borromeo to the legates, June 2, 1563. Meyer, *England und die k. K.*, 408.

<sup>10</sup> *Supra*, p. 122.

<sup>11</sup> The Parliament of January–April, 1563, had passed an Act (5 Eliz. cap. 1) which increased the severity of the laws against recusants.

<sup>12</sup> Pallavicino, iv. 334, 335.

<sup>13</sup> ‘Theologi Lovanienses a Legatis summopere contendebant, ut

effect to his ambassador at Trent.<sup>14</sup> The Louvain divines presented the document which they had brought with them to the legates, and it was considered in a congregation of June 11 at which the cardinals of Lorraine and Trent, the foreign ambassadors who were bishops, and a number of other bishops were present.<sup>15</sup> The proposal began with the declaration that it was expedient that the council should declare Elizabeth deserving of excommunication, although it might be desirable to leave the execution of the sentence to the pope. The reasons for this course were then stated. A declaration of the kind was expected by good catholics who were suffering persecution for the faith. If it were omitted they would be greatly discouraged, for they would think either that the council feared to raise its voice against heretics or that it had greater regard for the private interests of temporal princes than for the suppression of heresy. The English catholics, notwithstanding the dangers to which they were exposed, desired nothing more ardently than a pronouncement of the council, which was so highly honoured in their country that its sentence

Regina Angliae, tanquam schismatica, et haeretica, a Synodo declaratur; quod ita per literas ab Episcopis Anglicis Catholicis admoniti essent, quorum etiam multi captivi detinebantur.' Paleotto, *Acta concilii Tridentini* (ed. Mendham), p. 499.

<sup>14</sup> Philip to de Luna, August 8, 1563: 'Por algunos avisos que de ahí han venido, se ha entendido que á instancia ó persuasion de algunos Obispos y otros católicos ingleses, se hablaba de proponer que se tratase ahí en el Concilio de la privacion de la Reina de Inglaterra'. *Doc. inéd.*, vol. 98, p. 481. Cf. Merkle, *Concilium Tridentinum*, ii. 681.

<sup>15</sup> Bucholtz, *Geschichte der Regierung Ferdinand des Ersten*, ix. 699. Sickel, *Concil von Trient*, 540. Pallavicino, iv. 335.

would be of immense help to any action that might be undertaken by a foreign prince against English heretics. If it should be objected that there was no reason for singling out Elizabeth from other enemies of the faith, the answer was that no other heretic prince assumed the title of supreme head, or persecuted his catholic subjects, or stirred up rebellion in neighbouring countries as she did. Since Elizabeth stood alone in crime, it was fitting that she should be singled out for punishment.<sup>16</sup> Of the deliberations of the congregation which dealt with this proposal a single record has survived in the diary of Mendoza, bishop of Salamanca, who was one of its members. Mendoza records that the congregation considered certain letters from the English prelates which prayed the fathers to declare Elizabeth heretical and schismatic. When it came to Mendoza's turn to give his opinion, he remarked that the proper duty of the council was to define dogmas and reform abuses, not to condemn particular individuals. If action of this kind became necessary, it should be taken when the council was concluding its labours. In any case he thought it advisable to refer the matter to the pope and the emperor, and to proceed in accordance with their advice.<sup>17</sup> Goldwell, ex-bishop of St. Asaph, who was probably also a member of the congregation, was a strong advocate of action by the council, and wrote to the cardinal of Trani, praying him to support his views with the pope.<sup>18</sup>

The proposal to take the opinion of the pope and emperor was adopted by the congregation. One copy

<sup>16</sup> Bucholtz, *ut supra*.

<sup>17</sup> Merkle, *Concil. Trid.*, ii. 681.

<sup>18</sup> Silos, *Historiarum*, i. 447. Cf. Bridgett, *Catholic Hierarchy*, 239.

of the Louvain petition was sent to Pius, and another was given to the emperor's ambassadors.

At Rome the project met with approval. On June 30 Borromeo wrote to the legates that it seemed right to his holiness to grant the English catholics the consolation for which they craved, and he suggested that the subject should be dealt with in the canon of the institution of bishops.<sup>19</sup> His intention was that the decree which defined a bishop should declare the English bishops consecrated under Elizabeth to be no bishops and Elizabeth herself to be a heretic and schismatic. A declaration of this nature would, he hoped, encourage catholic princes to help her persecuted subjects by force of arms.<sup>20</sup>

The emperor's ambassadors sent their copy of the proposal to their master on June 12 with the remark that they had not been able to discover its authors but were told that it came from Louvain. They added that if Elizabeth was to be excommunicated it would be best, in their opinion, to follow the example of ancient assemblies and pronounce the sentence immediately before the council broke up.<sup>21</sup> At the same time they sent Ferdinand a second document which had been withheld from the congregation.<sup>22</sup> This paper, which probably came also from Louvain, was given them by Cardinal Hosius, one of the legates.<sup>23</sup> Its nature was such that no statesman who valued the peace of Europe would willingly submit it even to the limited publicity of a conciliar congregation. It revived the old plans for the disposal of England which had

<sup>19</sup> Meyer, p. 409.

<sup>20</sup> Pallavicino, iv. 335.

<sup>21</sup> Sickel, Bucholtz, *ut supra*.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> Sickel, 555, 556.

been discussed by Morone and the English exiles in 1561. After remarking that the deprivation of Elizabeth would give great pleasure to the English people it suggested that the council, with the consent of the pope and Christian rulers, should bestow her crown on the prince who should marry Mary, Queen of Scots, the rightful queen. The English nation, it continued, was miserably oppressed by Bacon and Cecil and longed for a deliverer. Aided by the council's sentence, Mary's husband, with a small force of foreign troops, would easily overcome the heretics and would be welcomed by the people at large. It was desirable that the husband selected for Mary should not have a kingdom of his own, since the English would not willingly suffer the yoke of a viceroy. Don Carlos, the heir of Spain, would therefore be a less suitable choice than a son of the emperor who would have no dominions outside England.<sup>24</sup>

The documents summarized above were received by the emperor at Innspruck and filled him with alarm. Ferdinand was by nature averse from extreme measures. A most earnest and orthodox catholic, he had nevertheless a high, perhaps an exaggerated, opinion of the strength of protestantism, and he was haunted by fears of its complete triumph in Germany. He was, therefore, strongly opposed to anything that savoured of aggression. His relations with Elizabeth, moreover, had always been cordial, he had made several efforts to secure her hand for one of his sons, and he had not given up hopes of bringing her back to the church. To him, therefore, the crude proposal of the Louvain

<sup>24</sup> Bucholtz, ix. 701. Pollen, *Papal Negotiations*, 175.

exiles came as a most unwelcome surprise. The nuncio Delfino wrote to Morone on June 17 that he had never known Ferdinand so moved, and that there was not the slightest chance of his ever consenting to an attack on Elizabeth through the council.<sup>25</sup> These feelings found full vent in Ferdinand's reply to the legates. In a letter of June 19 to his representatives at Trent he strongly condemned the whole project. However much he regretted and deplored Elizabeth's conduct he declared himself altogether opposed to her excommunication, which would bring no alleviation to the sufferings of English catholics and would stir up strife throughout Christendom. If the sentence were launched no foreign prince would come forward to carry it out, not France because it was almost as deeply infected with heresy as England, nor any other country because, if England were attacked, the German protestants would hasten to help her. It was unbecoming the dignity of an oecumenical council to decree a sentence which there was no means of carrying out. There was no reason for singling out Elizabeth for punishment; she was no worse than other heretic princes who, though they did not call themselves heads of the church, behaved in all ways as if they were. Many more urgent matters awaited the determination of the council, and if it occupied itself with Elizabeth people would say that the legates had led it astray in order to divert attention from reform. For these reasons Ferdinand instructed his ambassadors to spare no effort to defeat the proposal. If they were unable to do so he insisted at any rate on the suppression of the

<sup>25</sup> Appendix 50.

second document, which referred to a secular matter altogether outside the jurisdiction of the council.<sup>26</sup>

The emperor was not singular in his opinion. On hearing of the projected excommunication Cardinal Granvelle wrote at once, on June 27, from Brussels imploring the legates to abandon the idea. With his usual suspicion of French intrigues he saw the hand of France in the proposal, and reminded the legates that Philip had frequently dissuaded the pope from taking any steps against Elizabeth without his cognizance. Granvelle warned them that the assurances of exiles were untrustworthy, and that the opposite of what the exiles promised might happen, instead of a rising of catholics and the overthrow of Elizabeth, a more savage persecution and the death of the prisoners for religion. Elizabeth's position, he proceeded, was insecure, and the time might soon come for aiming a blow at her, but careful preparation would have to be made. In any case nothing should be done without the knowledge and goodwill of the king of Spain.<sup>27</sup> The opinion which Granvelle had expressed was shared by Philip. The legates do not seem to have consulted him, a somewhat surprising circumstance, but he heard of the project from some other source and wrote to de Luna, his ambassador at Trent, to stop all talk and proposals of the kind by every means in his power.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Sickel, 551. Steinherz, *Nuntiaturberichte*, vol. iii. (Delfino, 1562-3), p. 351.

<sup>27</sup> Poulet, *Correspondance de Granvelle*, i. 553. Weiss, *Papiers d'État de Granvelle*, vii. 112.

<sup>28</sup> Philip to de Luna, August 8, 1563. *Doc. inéd.*, vol. 98, p. 481. On September 22, long after the project had been abandoned, Philip

As soon as they received the opinion of the emperor the legates sent it to the pope (June 28). They were much impressed by Ferdinand's arguments, and informed Pius that they had decided to take no action but to remit the matter to the decision of his holiness and the emperor.<sup>29</sup> A few days later they received Granvelle's letter of June 27. This convinced them that the project must be abandoned. On July 7 they wrote again to Pius that, in view of the emperor's pronouncement and of Philip's hostility, which Granvelle's letter foreshadowed, they proposed to let the matter rest unless, as they did not anticipate, they should receive contrary orders from Rome. If, nevertheless, Pius still wished to proceed they suggested that he should write to the emperor and the king of Spain and take action in concert with them.<sup>30</sup>

The advice thus given was acted on by Pius before it reached him. On July 6 Borromeo wrote to the legates that Ferdinand's arguments were accepted by the pope, who desired to drop the matter. They were

wrote again to de Luna repeating his objections and remarking that the question was one which ought to be left to the pope, who could proceed by forms of law, and institute a regular process not merely against Elizabeth but against all other princes who were in like case with her. *Ibid.*, p. 504.

<sup>29</sup> Morone to Borromeo, June 28, 1563. Meyer, p. 409. Raynaldus states (Baronius (Raynaldus), *Annales*, xxxiv. 418) that at this time some English catholics, desiring to rise in rebellion against Elizabeth, implored the council to excommunicate her. He speaks of this appeal as distinct from the proposal of the Louvain exiles, but from the authority which he quotes (the legates' letter of June 28) it is clear that he was mistaken. There was only one proposal, viz. that of the Louvain exiles.

<sup>30</sup> Morone to Borromeo, July 7, 1563. Meyer, p. 410.

to inform the imperial ambassadors that they attached more value to the judgement of the emperor alone than to that of an infinite number of other advisers, including Englishmen, who counselled rigorous proceedings.<sup>31</sup> These instructions were repeated in two subsequent letters.<sup>32</sup> When sending Visconti on a mission to Spain in October 1563 Pius took credit with Philip for having, out of consideration for the king's wishes, prevented the council from making any mention of Elizabeth.<sup>33</sup>

The attempt of the Louvain exiles and their English correspondents to make war on Elizabeth through the council was thus brought to naught. The most curious part of the transaction was the readiness, one might almost say the light-heartedness, with which Pius put forth the proposal, as if it were an ordinary incident of conciliar routine, and the alacrity with which he abandoned it when it met with opposition. It would have been consistent with his office either to press forward such a project at all costs, regardless of temporal consequences, or to decline to touch it at all until there was some prospect of putting it into execution. The course which he took, first of ill-considered adoption and then of precipitate abandonment, illustrates the waverings of his mind. As a churchman, bred up on mediaeval canonists and schoolmen, he regarded the excommunication of heretical princes as the obvious duty of a council, so obvious as to need no justification.

<sup>31</sup> Borromeo to the legates, July 6, 1563. *Ibid.* Cf. Steinherz, *Nuntiaturberichte*, iii. 363.

<sup>32</sup> Borromeo to the legates, July 10 and 17, 1563. Meyer, p. 411.

<sup>33</sup> Mendham, *Memoirs of the Council of Trent*, 297, 299. Bodleian library, MSS. Mendham, 12, p. 316.

As a statesman versed in current politics he was aware that if Spain declined to move no means existed of enforcing a conciliar anathema. When he first wrote to the legates he was living for a moment in the world of the thirteenth century. But the opposition of Ferdinand and Granvelle brought him back to reality, and he abandoned without more ado the dream of an all-powerful council coercing a rebellious queen.

## CHAPTER X

### THE COUNCIL AND THE ENGLISH CATHOLICS.

SHORTLY before it broke up the council concerned itself again, and for the last time, with English affairs. On two occasions since the resumption of its sittings the fate of the bishops in prison in England had occupied the attention of its members. In April 1562 some of the fathers were eager that an appeal should be made in their favour to the catholic princes of Europe, particularly the emperor and the king of Spain. The pope, it was suggested, should prevail on these monarchs to intercede with Elizabeth and to urge on behalf of the bishops that no other crime was laid to their charge than a desire to live in the religion in which they had been born and brought up. At this time no action was taken. The legates, though deeply concerned for their English brethren, were averse from moving in their favour, lest by doing so they should exasperate the English government against them.<sup>1</sup>

A year later, in April 1563, the proposal was revived. The English bishop (Goldwell) and the three Irish bishops who took part in the council presented to the legates a memorandum, dated March 20, 1563, which they seem to have received from Louvain, through

<sup>1</sup> Cardinal of Mantua to Cardinal Granvelle, April 28, 1562. Tejado y Ramiro, *Colección de Cánones*, iv. 571, 572. Milledonne, *Journal* (ed. A. Baschet), 82.

Cardinal Granvelle. The memorandum stated that the English parliament had passed an act, to come into force on April 1, which declared all those persons guilty of high treason who refused to acknowledge Elizabeth as supreme governor of the church of England.<sup>2</sup> No hope of life, so the paper proceeded, is left for the bishops and other prisoners unless God moves the hearts of Christian princes to intervene in their behalf. Accordingly it suggested that the emperor and other catholic powers should threaten to break off relations with Elizabeth and to withdraw their ambassadors from her court unless she consented to show them mercy.<sup>3</sup> On this occasion the legates, though still fearing that their intercession might bring down on the prisoners the fate of Cardinal Fisher, nevertheless decided to take action. They appealed to the emperor, as the memorial had suggested, and they also referred the matter to a committee of four bishops, of whom Goldwell, ex-bishop of St. Asaph, was one. The committee advised against any movement of the council, because they had heard that Elizabeth had recently increased the rigour of the bishops' confinement and it was feared that intervention in their favour might cost them their lives.<sup>4</sup> This view was adopted and no further steps were taken by the council.

<sup>2</sup> The act referred to was 5 Eliz. c. 1. It enacted, *inter alia*, that (1) persons who, having once been convicted of maintaining the authority of the pope, were again convicted of the same offence; (2) persons who, having once refused the oath of supremacy, again refused it on its being tendered a second time, should suffer the penalties of high treason.

<sup>3</sup> Appendix 51 and 52.

<sup>4</sup> Paleotto, *Acta*, 121.

The emperor complied in a certain degree with the request of the legates. On April 12 he wrote to Elizabeth interceding for her catholic prisoners, but making no threats. He had heard, he said, of the recent law, and he implored her to spare men whose consciences forbade them to obey it. If she would not suffer them to live at liberty as catholics in England he prayed her at least to permit them, as was usual elsewhere, to leave the kingdom.<sup>5</sup> He sent a copy of this letter to de Quadra, requesting him to support it in the name of Philip and to hint at the indignation which Elizabeth would arouse if she put the bishops to death.<sup>6</sup> The cautious ambassador consulted Granvelle before deciding whether he should enforce the emperor's appeal with his master's authority. He remarked that, in his opinion, Elizabeth would not proceed to extremities against the bishops until she had made peace with France. He himself doubted whether the imperial letter would make any impression on her.<sup>7</sup> Elizabeth sent a polite reply to Ferdinand, making no promise but declaring that she attached great weight to his opinion.<sup>8</sup> In June Philip added his prayers to those of his uncle. He had formerly heard with regret, so he wrote, that she had found it necessary to imprison the bishops and he now learnt, to his great sorrow, that they were being required to choose between the denial of their faith and the loss of their lives. Their grievous imprisonment, the confiscation of their property, and the loss of the queen's

<sup>5</sup> Appendix 53.

<sup>6</sup> Appendix 54.

<sup>7</sup> Kervyn, *Rel. Pol.*, iii. 366, 377.

<sup>8</sup> Sickel, *Concil von Trient*, 541. Elizabeth's letter is not extant. Its purport is disclosed by later correspondence.

favour were heavy enough punishments without imposing this cruel alternative. He therefore adjured her, as the greatest favour that she could show him, to save them from the fate with which they were threatened.<sup>9</sup>

Elizabeth's answer to Philip's letter is not extant, and it is therefore impossible to say with certainty what influence it had on her policy. It is, however, extremely probable that the decision which she took at this time, to leave the new act unenforced, was due in some measure to the appeals of Ferdinand and Philip. At the beginning of May Bonner and Watson were cited to appear and take the oath of supremacy, but after all it was not tendered to them,<sup>10</sup> nor were any steps taken during the rest of the year to put the extreme rigour of the law in force against the catholic prisoners. About the time when Bonner and Watson were summoned Archbishop Parker, in consultation with Cecil, issued a circular to his brother bishops forbidding them to tender the oath a second time without written orders from him. The last paragraph, which was drafted by Cecil, declares that 'this manner of my sudden writing at this time is grounded upon great and necessary consideration'.<sup>11</sup> In a letter written on May 1, 1563, d'Assonleville, a diplomatist from Brussels who was in London, ascribed the suspension

<sup>9</sup> Appendix 55. Cf. *Spanish Cal.*, 334.

<sup>10</sup> *Spanish Cal.*, 323.

<sup>11</sup> *Parker Soc., Parker's Letters*, 174. The letter is not dated, but internal evidence proves it to have been written very shortly after April 14, 1563. By an oversight Bridgett (*Catholic Hierarchy*, 85) and Father Phillips (*Extinction of the Ancient Hierarchy*, 314) place the letter in 1564.

of proceedings to rumours of an approaching visit of the king of Spain to the Netherlands, to various complications in foreign and domestic politics, and, in the last place, to the emperor's appeal.<sup>12</sup> Elizabeth had nothing to fear from Ferdinand, but the receipt of his letter may have quickened her apprehensions of Philip's anger and led to the issue of Parker's circular.

We now return to the council of Trent. In August 1563, after the idea of excommunication had been abandoned, the legates and the pope reverted to the project of intercession. They had received news from England that the failure of her attack on France<sup>13</sup> and the fear of internal rebellion had constrained Elizabeth to show clemency to the prisoners for religion. The time therefore seemed favourable for approaching her. By the recent edict of Amboise (March 19, 1563) the Huguenots of France had gained the right of maintaining a place of worship in every local district ('baillage ou sénéchaussée'). Borrowing this plan from their enemies the legates and the pope now urged the emperor and the king of Spain to secure a similar concession for the English catholics. Ferdinand and Philip, it was suggested, should write to Elizabeth, pointing out that even the Turks allowed freedom of worship to Christians, and urging her to release the prisoners for religion and grant to the old faith a church in every town, in which its adherents might

<sup>12</sup> Kervyn, *Rel. Pol.*, iii. 377.

<sup>13</sup> During the first war of religion England had occupied Havre in alliance with the Huguenots. After the peace (March 19, 1563) the latter joined forces with the royalists to besiege Havre, which the English refused to restore. It surrendered on July 30, 1563.

hear mass and perform the divine offices. Letters in this sense were written to Philip on August 26,<sup>14</sup> and to Ferdinand on September 17.<sup>15</sup> The Spanish nuncio Crivelli was further instructed on September 2 to press the plan on Philip with the help of the count of Feria, who is described as in the confidence of the English catholics.<sup>16</sup>

Philip did nothing. He informed Crivelli that the queen had recently released, first the archbishop of York, and then the other bishops, on condition that they did not leave the kingdom.<sup>17</sup> He did not consider the present time opportune for approaching her as de Quadra's death<sup>18</sup> had left him without an ambassador in England, but full instructions would be given to de Quadra's successor, who would be appointed immediately.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>14</sup> *Doc. inéd.*, vol. 101, p. 19. The reference to the Turks was a common-place. A protestant pamphlet of 1562 complained that 'The Turke albeit he maketh Christian menne his slaves and bondemen, yet suffreth he them to live after their owne religion. But the professours of the gospell, they must either worship the greate God of Roome without exception, or els they must have their throtes cutte, and leese their lifes'. *A Dialogue agaynst the Tyranny of the Papistes . . . 17 Septembris, 1562*, sig. A. v.

<sup>15</sup> Bucholtz, ix. 702.

<sup>16</sup> Appendix 56.

<sup>17</sup> *Doc. inéd.*, vol. 101, p. 19. On July 3 de Quadra wrote to Granvelle that Heath, who had been ill, had been set at liberty, and that the queen contemplated releasing some of the other Marian bishops who were in the Tower. (Kervyn, *Rel. Pol.*, iii. 499.) By September all had left and had been placed in the custody of Anglican bishops. Their discharge from the Tower was commonly attributed to the outbreak of plague in London. J. Gairdner, *Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles* (Camden Soc.), 126.

<sup>18</sup> On August 24, 1563.

<sup>19</sup> *Doc. inéd., ut supra*. As a matter of fact de Silva, de Quadra's successor, did not arrive in England till June 1564.

The emperor, less burdened with responsibilities than Philip, complied at once with the legates' request. On September 24 he wrote to Elizabeth thanking her for her gracious acceptance of his former letter, praising her for sparing the lives of her prisoners, and requesting her to grant the concession proposed by the legates, viz. a church in each town, in which catholics might freely worship God and receive the sacraments after the fashion of their church.<sup>20</sup>

To this appeal Elizabeth replied on November 3, 1563.<sup>21</sup> Her letter is of great historical interest, as containing the English government's official justification of their treatment of the catholics. It first referred in angry terms to the imprisoned bishops. The queen, so it said, had shown great clemency to men who had insolently resisted her laws and disturbed the peace of her loving subjects. These very men, in the reigns of Henry and Edward, while occupying public positions, had pressed on the people the doctrine which now they obstinately rejected. Such men, it was implied, had estopped themselves from an appeal to conscience. Nevertheless, out of consideration for the emperor and to the no slight offence of her subjects, Elizabeth had spared their lives. Ferdinand's further request that facilities for worship should be granted could in no way be conceded. The religion professed in England was no new religion, but the religion which Christ himself ordained, which the primitive catholic church

<sup>20</sup> British Museum, *Cotton MS. Vesp.* F. iii, No. 120, f. 64/114. This is the original letter with the emperor's signature and seal. It is reprinted by Baronius (Raynaldus), *Annales*, xxxiv. 419, and by Strype, *Annals*, I. ii. 572.

<sup>21</sup> Appendix 57.

confirmed, which the unanimous voice of the most ancient fathers approved. If churches were set up for the celebration of unauthorized rites the laws of Parliament would be broken and England, which was now in perfect quiet, would be involved in disorder. The minds of good men would be unsettled, factious men would be encouraged, party strife would be engendered, and civil and religious order would be shaken to its foundation. Even for the men on whose behalf the concession was sought it would be neither suitable nor safe. At the promptings of her natural clemency and yielding to Ferdinand's prayers Elizabeth had attempted by connivance to overcome the resistance of the small minority who rejected her laws. On no account could she consent to encourage their stubbornness by excessive indulgence. For these reasons she was compelled, to her great regret, to refuse the emperor's request.

The most striking features of this letter are the animosity which it displayed against the imprisoned bishops and the reasons which it gave for refusing freedom of worship. Elizabeth declined to regard the Marian bishops as sufferers for conscience sake. In her eyes they were factious turncoats who opposed the religion which a few years earlier they had been the foremost to advocate. She could not forgive them for refusing to follow her, as they had followed her father, into rebellion against the pope. The fact that they had never advocated and that most of them had always resisted the principal changes of doctrine and ceremony which she had introduced was discreetly ignored.

Her defence of the refusal to grant churches was, in

brief, that the religion which she enjoined was a good religion and that civil war would follow if diversity were permitted. The plea was practically the plea of necessity, to which the circumstances of the time gave unusual force. The grant of toleration to a rival religion had led to civil war in France, and there can be little doubt that a similar concession would have been followed by similar results in England. English statesmen can hardly be blamed for refusing to make the trial. The peace which their country enjoyed was too precious to be risked in experiments of toleration which were foreign to the spirit of the age.

## CHAPTER XI

### THOMAS SACKVILLE AND GURONE BERTANO

THE attempt to secure toleration for the English catholics was the last direct effort that Pius IV made to influence the course of affairs in England. But the failure of every plan that had been formed since 1560 for persuading or coercing Elizabeth had not convinced him of the futility of further endeavour. He was still ready to enter into communication with her if an opportunity occurred. Such an opening was presented at the end of 1563 by the visit to Rome of Thomas Sackville, the future earl of Dorset, known in literature as almost the earliest of Elizabethan poets. He was the son of Sir Richard Sackville, who was one of the wealthiest men in England, a member of the privy council, and first cousin once removed of the queen.<sup>1</sup> Sir Richard belonged to the class of statesmen who held office through all the changes of the reformation, sympathizing in secret with the old religion and helping in public to overthrow it. The sentiments of the son were probably not dissimilar from those of the father. His earliest experience at Rome was unpleasant. He was thrown into prison on a suspicion of heresy, and seems to have owed his release to the leading English exiles at Rome who certified that he and his father were men of the first importance in England.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> He was the first cousin of Anne Boleyn.

<sup>2</sup> *Cath. Rec. Soc.*, ii. 3, ix. 52, 54. The Spanish ambassador stated

After he had been set at liberty Sackville had interviews with the pope, who received him twice, and with cardinals Borromeo and Morone. The subject of the interviews was the recovery of England to the church. Sackville led Pius to believe that he and his father were in favour of a restoration and offered, or consented, to convey a papal message to Elizabeth. The message made no reference to religion proper, and assumed that the sole obstacles to a reunion with Rome were Clement VII's sentence against Henry VIII and the confiscation of monastic property. If Elizabeth, so Pius declared, would return to the true fold he would arrange a settlement which would satisfy the queen, the parliament, and the whole realm. To this commission he added an appeal for clemency to the catholics and the promise of a favourable hearing to any envoy that Elizabeth might send to Rome.

These facts are disclosed in a memorandum of the interviews which was drawn up by Parpaglia and given to Sackville.<sup>3</sup> The latter left Rome early in 1564. Although the memorandum contained no hint of any concession in the sphere of religion there were people who thought that the pope had gone too far. The Spanish ambassador, Requesens, was displeased, and an English exile who was in the habit of furnishing news to Pius reproached his holiness with yielding too much to the heretics. His remonstrances made so much impression on the pope that supplementary instructions interpreting and limiting the proposed concessions

(*Spanish Cal.*, 390) that he was arrested as a spy, but from the paper printed in *Cath. Rec. Soc.*, ix. 52, 54, it is more probable that the offence imputed to him was heresy.

<sup>3</sup> *Cath. Rec. Soc.*, ii. 5.

were sent after Sackville.<sup>4</sup> No copy of them has survived, so that it is impossible to say in what manner Pius qualified his original offer. They failed to reach the Englishman, who, presumably, had already left Italy.<sup>5</sup> Some time in 1564 he transmitted Parpaglia's memorandum to his father, who communicated it to Elizabeth. According to the Spanish ambassador she kept it secret from Cecil, whence it might be inferred that she was not disinclined to negotiate, but there is no reason to suppose that she moved a single step on the path of reconciliation.<sup>6</sup> In the autumn of 1564, when Thomas Sackville was about to cross over from Antwerp, he received a message from his father warning him that he had incurred the queen's displeasure, evidently on account of his proceedings at Rome, and advising him not to return. He informed Morone on November 20 of his father's warning and suggested that a papal agent should be sent to England.<sup>7</sup> Morone replied, as might have been expected, that the pope, having already sent two nuncios in vain, could not send a third until he knew how the queen was disposed. If a safe means were opened of communicating with her he would at once dispatch an envoy.<sup>8</sup>

So far as is known the negotiations stopped here.

<sup>4</sup> Appendix 58 and 59.

<sup>5</sup> Appendix 59.

<sup>6</sup> *Spanish Cal.*, 390, 391. In a letter which Morone wrote to Sackville about December 1564 (*Cath. Rec. Soc.*, ii. 8), it is assumed that the pope's message had not yet been communicated to Elizabeth. There can be no doubt, however, that it reached her. De Silva implies that it did, so does Sir Richard Shelley (Appendix 58), and Bartholomew Clerke in his *Fidelis servi subdito infideli responsio*, sig. k. ii, published in 1573, says that Parpaglia's memorandum and Morone's letter were then extant in England. Cf. Maitland, *Collected Papers*, iii. 184.

<sup>7</sup> *Cath. Rec. Soc.*, loc. cit.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

A step which Pius took in 1564 probably owed its inspiration to the hopes which Sackville had aroused. In May 1564 he summoned Goldwell, ex-bishop of St. Asaph, to Rome with the intention of sending him to Flanders on business connected with the English church.<sup>9</sup> It is a reasonable conjecture that Goldwell was to have been the nuncio whom Pius would have accredited to Elizabeth if the offers which he made through Sackville had borne fruit. As they did not the project of sending the bishop to Flanders was abandoned.<sup>10</sup>

It has generally been supposed that the message which Pius IV sent to Queen Elizabeth by Thomas Sackville was the last effort that he made to recover England to the church. The archives of Simancas, however, contain proof of further activity. From them we learn of a curious intrigue which was set on foot towards the end of 1564 and carried on during 1565, with the cognizance of Pius, for the conversion of England. Our information is obtained mainly from the correspondence of Requesens, the Spanish

<sup>9</sup> Del Tufo, *Historia*, 93, *Supplimento*, 94. Bridgett, *Catholic Hierarchy*, 240.

<sup>10</sup> According to Silos (*Historiarum*, i. 476, 477) Goldwell went to Flanders with a band of missionaries intending to cross into England on a favourable opportunity, but the English government, having heard of his coming, sent round his description to the seaports and offered a reward for his capture. It being thus hopeless to try to enter the kingdom unobserved he abandoned his project and returned to Rome. Bridgett (*op. cit.*, 242) accepts this story as authentic, but it seems hardly credible. Del Tufo, who was Goldwell's contemporary and knew him, does not mention it. The first authority is Silos, whose history was published in 1650. An event of such importance could hardly have escaped mention in contemporary records.

ambassador at Rome. The agents were Italians named Gurone Bertano and Antonio and Sebastian Bruschetto. Bertano was a person of some consequence, a gentleman of Modena and brother of a cardinal;<sup>11</sup> he lived at Rome and was in the confidence of Requesens. His connexion with England was of old standing. In 1535 he was sent thither with dispatches by Sir Gregory Casale, an English agent at the papal court.<sup>12</sup> In 1546 he was employed by Paul III on a mysterious mission which had as its object the reconciliation of England with Rome.<sup>13</sup> Antonio Bruschetto was a Genoese who had settled in England and married an English wife.<sup>14</sup> Sebastian was their son; he had been brought up in England, and went to Rome in 1560 to study philosophy.<sup>15</sup>

In 1563 Bertano entered into communication with Cecil by making an offer through Antonio Bruschetto to supply news from Rome.<sup>16</sup> In order to show what he could do he sent a copy of a paper, probably written by an English exile, which contained proposals for a league to attack England. This paper, he reported, had been submitted to the pope, who had ordered Borromeo to consult him regarding it; he had

<sup>11</sup> The cardinal was Pietro Bertano, who died in 1558. *Tiraboschi, Biblioteca modenese*, i. 255.

<sup>12</sup> Gairdner, *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, ix, Nos. 492, 658 (last par.), 1024, and x, Nos. 70 and 200.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.* xxi, Part I, Nos. 1215, 1309, 1339, 1398, 1412, Part II, Nos. 194, 203, 223, 384. *Foreign Cal.*, 1563, No. 1407.

<sup>14</sup> He was granted letters of denization on December 4, 1536. Gairdner, *ut supra*, xi, No. 1417 (4).

<sup>15</sup> *Foreign Cal.*, 1563, No. 1289. *Index Library*, xviii. 49, xxvi. 177, xxxvi. 160.

<sup>16</sup> *Foreign Cal.*, 1563, Nos. 1199 and 1399.

informed Borromeo that the conquest of England was a hopeless project, and had induced the pope to abandon the plan and to refuse future audiences to the man who had made it.<sup>17</sup> An offer accompanied by such a promising earnest was naturally accepted by Cecil, and during the next year Bertano wrote periodically furnishing information of various kinds from the papal court.<sup>18</sup> In the summer of 1564 he conceived the idea of effecting the reconciliation of England with Rome by secret negotiation, and, what is more surprising, he induced the pope, who had all along been in the secret of his correspondence, to countenance the intrigue. At a long interview with Pius and the latter's secretary, Tolomeo Gallio, the future cardinal of Como, he informed the pope that Elizabeth, Leicester,<sup>19</sup> and Cecil had recently asked him to send them his secretary, Sebastian Bruschetto, since he could not come to England himself. He explained that he proposed to use Sebastian as the negotiator of his scheme, and he persuaded Pius to support it by promises of practical help. These promises were as follows. Pius undertook to provide a force of 4,000 foot soldiers, and more if necessary, to be used for the queen's support when she restored catholicism, to spend 30,000 crowns on bribes to Cecil and others hostile to religion, to give the nomination of four cardinals to the queen and one to Leicester, to grant her the tenths of benefices,<sup>20</sup> and to make arrange-

<sup>17</sup> Appendix 60.

<sup>18</sup> *Foreign Cal.*, 1563, *passim*. See Index under 'Bertano' and 'Bruschetto'.

<sup>19</sup> In the summer of 1564 Leicester was still Lord Robert Dudley. He became earl of Leicester in September, 1564.

<sup>20</sup> The reference is presumably to the first-fruits and tenths which

ments about the goods of the church which would benefit the queen, do little harm to existing holders, and be ultimately of advantage to the church.<sup>21</sup> Furnished with these encouraging promises Sebastian set out for England in the autumn of 1564, and by him Bertano sent a letter to Cecil dated September 19, 1564, in which he made an eloquent appeal to the English statesman to restore catholicism in England. The letter made no reference to the detailed promises which Sebastian was bringing. These would naturally be reserved for a more secret communication. Bertano merely appealed to Cecil as the most influential of Elizabeth's advisers, and assured him that Pius was prepared to confer every sort of favour on him, the queen, and the kingdom, if they returned to the bosom of the church.<sup>22</sup>

On reaching England Sebastian was warmly received and taken into Leicester's service on a salary of 200 crowns (about £30) a year and his living.<sup>23</sup> On December 4 he wrote to Bertano, giving a very hopeful account of the prospects of a restoration.<sup>24</sup> He represented the queen as most favourably disposed to the holy see and longing for the hour when she could give public proof of her sentiments. But she stood in great fear of her surroundings, and hardly dared to be seen receiving a letter which was

were annexed to the crown by Henry VIII, surrendered by Mary, and re-annexed by Elizabeth.

<sup>21</sup> Appendix 62.

<sup>22</sup> *Foreign Cal.*, 1564-5, No. 683.

<sup>23</sup> Appendix 62.

<sup>24</sup> Appendix 61. This letter is not signed, but internal evidence and the references to it in appendix 62 show it to have been written by Sebastian.

not meant to be read by her whole council. She had excited the ill-will of the protestants by keeping a crucifix in her chapel with lighted tapers on either side.<sup>25</sup> The catholics he described as numerous and free from molestation so long as they abstained from proselytism. If disturbances arose on account of religion the queen would certainly be found on their side. Sebastian then went on to ask for further instructions and urged Bertano to persuade Pius to offer bribes, in addition to those already proposed for Cecil and Leicester, to three or four others whose names are not mentioned. Bertano showed this letter to Pius, who read it with great satisfaction and authorized him to make further offers, of which the nature is not stated.<sup>26</sup>

In April, 1565, Elizabeth and Cecil wrote to Bertano. Their letters are mainly of compliment, but contain veiled references to the offers that he had made, Elizabeth assuring him that she would consider what he had written and decide as the good of her country demanded, while Cecil declared, as might have been expected, that the nature of the matter debarred him from proceeding with it.<sup>27</sup> Bertano sent copies of these letters to Requesens with the remark, which they hardly justified, that they were encouraging to the success of his enterprise.<sup>28</sup>

His hopeful tone was perhaps due to recent incidents. On April 13 the queen's almoner, Guest, bishop of Rochester, preached a sermon before her on the text 'Hoc est corpus meum', and insisted, according to the

<sup>25</sup> There are numerous references to this action of Elizabeth in contemporary letters and pamphlets.

<sup>26</sup> Appendix 62.    <sup>27</sup> Appendices 63, 64, 65.    <sup>28</sup> Appendix 66.

Spanish ambassador, on the doctrine of the objective real presence. A delighted listener cried out in the true spirit of his kind, 'I do believe it, and he who doth not should be forthwith burnt.' A few days later a picturesque scene took place at court. On Holy Thursday, which in 1565 fell on April 19, two days after the date of her letter to Bertano, the queen performed the usual ceremony, known as the queen's Maundy, of washing the feet of a number of poor women. As each foot was washed she kissed it and traced a cross with her finger above the toes. The crossing was part of the usual ceremony, but on this occasion she seems to have performed it with exceptional demonstrations of devotion which gratified the catholics and excited corresponding distress in the hearts of reformers.<sup>29</sup> A few days later, in conversation with de Silva, she declared that the differences between Anglican churchmen and other catholics were trifling. On de Silva remarking that she would soon amend them she replied, if his report may be believed, that he would see it.<sup>30</sup> It is hardly uncharitable to conjecture that this conversation, as well as the demonstration of Holy Thursday, was intended to reach the ears of Pius. In a consistory of June 8, 1565, he announced the receipt of news from England that she was treating the catholics more mildly and that there were hopes of her marrying an orthodox husband and returning with him and her kingdom to the communion of Rome.<sup>31</sup>

Notwithstanding the slight success which had so far

<sup>29</sup> *Spanish Cal.*, 419, 425. Nichols, *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, i. 325.

<sup>30</sup> *Spanish Cal.*, 425.

<sup>31</sup> Brady, *Episcopal Succession*, ii. 327.

attended his efforts Bertano did not lose heart. In the summer of 1565 he sent further instructions to Sebastian renewing the offers of papal help which had been made in the preceding winter. Bribes of 30,000 and 20,000 crowns were now to be offered to Cecil and Leicester, and the queen was to be tempted by a promise of the nomination of two English cardinals and of the support of 4,000 troops, paid for six months, to protect her if the change of religion should lead to disturbances.<sup>32</sup> Early in September Bruschetto showed his instructions to Leicester, who remarked that the undertaking was very difficult, involving, as it did, the whole frame of the state, and warned him to keep them a profound secret. At the end of September he had an interview with Cecil, from whom he received nothing but polite words. On this followed a conversation with Lord North, who had recently returned from a visit to Rome. North told Sebastian that he had been informed by the queen of all the particulars of Sebastian's mission, and that there had been some joking with Cecil about the 30,000 crowns. The queen, North added, showed some inclination towards the negotiation, and he himself had been pressed to accept a mission to Rome.<sup>33</sup>

At this point Bertano's correspondence with Requesens ceases. The death of Pius, which took place on December 9, 1565, no doubt put an end to the negotiation. Notwithstanding the secrecy with which it was conducted, a few hints in contemporary correspondence prove that it did not pass entirely unobserved. In July, 1564, de Silva wrote to Philip on the information of a confidant of Leicester (then Lord Robert Dudley)

<sup>32</sup> Appendix 68.

<sup>33</sup> Appendix 67.

that the latter kept an agent at Rome and that he had an understanding with the pope, who was to help him to marry Elizabeth on condition of the restoration of catholicism. The person referred to was no doubt Bertano, who in December, 1563, suggested, as a means of smoothing Dudley's path, that the pope should send him a crown and make his brother a cardinal.<sup>34</sup> Another echo of Bertano's intrigue is found in a letter which Sir Edward Warner, formerly lieutenant of the Tower, wrote to Cecil from Spa on August 10, 1565. An Antwerp merchant whom he met there informed Warner that 'ther ys one at Rome for the Quens Majeste, that dothe secretly travell with the pope, that ther may be confyrmyd by hym and the Consystory all suche gyttes of spyrytualle promocyonas as Hyre Majeste hathe gyvyne syns she was quene, and so for the rest that she shall gyve herafter, and also wher befor thys yt hathe bene ther and elswher publyshyd that Hyre Hyghnes was base and not legytymate, that the sayd publycacyone myght be revokyd and the contrary ther affyrmyd'.<sup>35</sup> Finally in the *Fidelis servi* which was published in 1573 Bartholomew Clerke refers to the offer of bribes by the pope to English nobles as an inducement to them to support his efforts towards a reconciliation.<sup>36</sup>

Bertano's negotiation, although he took it very seriously himself, possessed no practical importance. It never had the remotest prospect of success. Nevertheless it is of interest from the light which it throws

<sup>34</sup> Spanish Cal., 366. Foreign Cal., 1563, No. 1454.

<sup>35</sup> S. P. Dom., Eliz., Addenda, xii. 78. A full transcript is given by Kervyn, Rel. Pol., iv. 232.

<sup>36</sup> Sig. k. ii.

on the views of the various parties whom he sought to bring together. First of these was the pope. One might have expected that the repeated disappointment of his attempts on England would have led Pius to look askance at such harebrained projects as that of Bertano. Yet his optimism was invincible. In spite of his failures he was as liberal as ever with hopes and promises. It may be objected that our knowledge of his offers comes from Bertano alone and that perhaps Bertano was romancing. But he was writing to the Spanish ambassador, who had ample means of verifying his assertions. With such a correspondent he would hardly have ventured on invention. There is no reason to doubt that Pius made the offers which the Italian ascribes to him. He evidently believed that England was in the hands of men who had renounced catholicism from the basest of motives, and he assumed that if they could be won over the return of their country to the Roman church would follow as a matter of course. His whole effort was therefore directed to securing them. For this purpose he employed the means which might be expected to work most powerfully on unprincipled men, namely bribes and the prospect of worldly advantage. Towards Elizabeth his attitude was determined by the belief, which he no doubt shared with many English catholics, that at heart she believed as they did, and that she would come over to their side if she could be persuaded that it was the stronger. To her, therefore, his promises combined the offer of armed support with the prospect of material advantage.

Of the other parties to the negotiation Elizabeth pursued her usual tactics, encouraging the belief at

Rome that she was not inaccessible to persuasion but doing nothing to prove it. Cecil did not go so far. Although he did not refuse to listen to Bertano he gave him no encouragement. He probably thought it good policy to let the pope beguile himself with vague hopes of recovering England by persuasion and bribery. While so engaged Pius was less likely to resort to more dangerous methods like excommunication. Moreover, by continuing to correspond with Bertano Cecil retained a source of information on papal affairs which he no doubt regarded as useful. Leicester, with his accustomed baseness, played his usual part. In public he posed as the supporter of the puritans, who were the bitterest enemies of Rome.<sup>37</sup> In secret he received Sebastian, who was practically a papal emissary, into his pay and gave a sympathizing ear to papal offers. The motive which determined his actions was self-interest pure and simple. He had not yet abandoned the hope of securing the hand of Elizabeth, and in order to gain that prize he was as ready as ever to support a catholic restoration.

<sup>37</sup> Dixon, *History*, vi. 3, 59, 107. As early as 1561, Veron, a noted preacher, dedicated to Dudley his *Moste necessary treatise of free wil not onlye against the Papists, but also against the Anabaptistes*. In 1562 a translation of the laws of Geneva was dedicated to him, as a man zealous for 'the advauncement of God's glorye in this realme' and noted for 'singuler gentilnes and favour . . . to the furtherers thereof'. The translator, Robert Fills, had been an exile for religion in the days of Mary. *Dic. Nat. Biog.* (1908) vi. 1304.

## CHAPTER XII

### CONCLUSION

WE have now reached the end of the period dealt with in this monograph. In the present chapter I propose to review the policy of the various powers whose proceedings made up the sum of Anglo-Roman relations. The place of honour belongs to the pope. Between 1558 and 1565 two popes occupied the seat of Peter, Paul IV and Pius IV. Of the former there is little to be said. During the nine months that he was Elizabeth's contemporary he showed little interest in her proceedings. The pontificate of Pius calls for fuller notice. The welfare of England was very near to his heart, and there was not a year of his reign in which he did not concern himself in one way or another with English affairs. In order to form a correct judgement of his policy it is necessary to realize his point of view. As father of Christendom he held himself bound by all means in his power to bring back England to what he believed to be the only true church. Since his office, as he conceived it, gave him the control both of the spiritual and the temporal sword, he was justified in using either force or persuasion. Whether he should use the one or the other was purely a question of expediency. His duty required him to employ whichever method was likely to be the more efficacious. In the earlier part of his pontificate he seemed to incline rather to the side of compulsion. The mission

of Parpaglia was an effort to coerce Elizabeth into submission by working on her fears of France; the projects which he put forward in the latter part of 1561 implied attack; and in 1563 he initiated proposals for excommunicating Elizabeth at the council of Trent. During the rest of his reign his attitude underwent a change. There is no evidence that after July, 1563, he ever countenanced a plan for restoring catholicism in England by force. The steadfast refusal of the king of Spain to lend help to spiritual censures seems to have convinced him that other means must be tried. Failing Spain, there was no temporal power to which he could look for support in a crusade against Elizabeth. The emperor was powerless, while France, in his eyes, was almost as deeply corrupted with heresy as England. Since no support was forthcoming for compulsion, he had no option but to fall back upon gentler methods. Accordingly the attempts which he made in 1564 and 1565 contemplated the use of no other weapons than those of persuasion. They aimed at recovering England to the church by convincing Elizabeth and her ministers that they would profit by a restoration.

It may be objected that besides force and bribes a third path lay open, namely concession in the sphere of religion. Why should not the pope have tried that? Might not an offer to permit vernacular services, to grant the cup to the laity, to relax the strictness of clerical celibacy have had some effect? It would have been possible to yield something in all these directions without overstepping the strictest line of orthodoxy. According to a well-known story Pius actually made the attempt by offering through the cardinal of Lor-

raine to confirm the Anglican prayer-book. But the story is a fiction, supported by insufficient evidence and contradicted by the whole tenor of papal relations with England.<sup>1</sup> In the eyes of Pius the head and front of England's offending was rebellion. She had separated herself from the universal church, and till she returned to obedience no question of religious concessions could arise. On no point was the papacy more steadfast than in its refusal to make terms with those who renounced its authority. To men within its fold relaxations of discipline might be granted; to rebels nothing could be yielded till they made submission.

In any case the idea of compromise was not likely to occur to Pius. His knowledge of England was derived mainly from exiles who were convinced that the great majority of their countrymen were catholics. Sanders, the ablest of them all, informed Morone in 1561 that not one hundredth part were infected with heresy.<sup>2</sup> Similar assertions recur again and again in the writings of his contemporaries. England is catholic, so they repeat with ceaseless iteration, a mere handful of greedy nobles and apostate priests have possessed themselves of power; let but a little help be given and the old faith will be restored under a converted Elizabeth or under another and a worthier sovereign. There is no reason to doubt that Pius accepted these exaggerations as gospel, and his belief in them would naturally turn his mind from concessions of ritual and discipline. Why should he think of

<sup>1</sup> For a full examination of the fiction see Father Pollen in *The Month*, vol. 100, p. 274. See also Dixon, *History*, v. 287.

<sup>2</sup> *Cath. Rec. Soc.*, i. 22.

concession when a restoration of undiluted catholicism seemed so full in view?

Yet another consideration exercised a similar influence. The English exiles were almost as firmly convinced of the pliability of Elizabeth as of the orthodoxy of her subjects. In their numerous writings during the first ten years of her reign they continually praise her learning, her virtue, her merciful disposition, her attachment to the symbol of the cross, her belief in the doctrine of the objective real presence. Two of their number went so far as to dedicate books to her, and actually gave the title of 'defender of the faith' to the queen who had overthrown their religion in England.<sup>3</sup> This laudation was in some measure a rhetorical device. Her virtues formed a background which set off the iniquities of her statesmen and divines. But it was not entirely insincere. Whatever her real opinions, Elizabeth contrived with surprising skill to inspire the catholics with the belief that she sympathized with them, that she was not absolutely committed to the reformation settlement, and that after all she might possibly pass over to their side. The hopes which they entertained must have been communicated to Pius through many channels, and were sufficient to deter him from a course which in any case was alien from Roman methods.

Nor is it conceivable that a policy of compromise would have met with success. The corner-stone of the English reformation was the denial of papal jurisdiction. On the question of his supremacy no

<sup>3</sup> Harding, *A Confutation, &c.*, 1565. See the preliminary address to Elizabeth. Shacklock, *The Hatchet of Heresies*, 1565. Dedication to Elizabeth.

pope would have dreamt of yielding an inch, while nothing short of force would have induced Elizabeth and her advisers to submit again to the 'bonds of Rome'. If Pius had succeeded in opening negotiations his claim to be head of the church of England would have brought them to a speedy end. The course which he attempted to pursue was the only one possible to him, either to persuade Elizabeth by bribes, or to coerce her by threats, or to eject her from her kingdom by force of arms. Of these three alternatives the last was beyond his power, the other two he tried in turn. The failure of his efforts was due to the interference of Philip II and the wisdom of Elizabeth and Cecil.

Next to the papacy the power which played the greatest part in the relations of England with Rome was Spain. The two countries were united by an old alliance, and Philip the second's position as master of the Netherlands made a friendly England indispensable to the prosperity of his dominions. From the first moment of Elizabeth's accession his great aim was to secure and preserve her goodwill. But his efforts were grievously obstructed by the policy which she pursued in matters of religion. It was difficult for a king who was passionately attached to the church of Rome to extend the hand of fellowship to its foremost enemy. Nevertheless the necessities of the political situation reconciled him to the anomaly. In the ancestral rivalry between the house of Hapsburg and the house of Valois Elizabeth held the balance. If Spain had treated her rebellion against Rome as a ground for estrangement she would have found a ready friend in France, which had no scruples about

seeking the alliance of infidels and heretics. His fear of France weighed more with Philip than religious considerations, and kept him Elizabeth's friend in spite of her crimes against his faith.

It was probably not without searchings of heart that he remained the ally of the heretical queen. He seems to have quieted his conscience by distinguishing between his duty towards his subjects and his duty towards strangers. In his own dominions he regarded himself as bound by the law of God to maintain the strictest orthodoxy. Wherever his rule extended he refused, at whatever cost, to tolerate heresy, and his relations with the Netherlands were one long series of sacrifices to the upholding of this overmastering necessity. But to a foreign country his duty was different. However much he might deplore the spread of heresy abroad, it was not incumbent on him to undertake crusades in order to put it down. This principle formed the keynote of his policy, and explains how he was able to maintain amicable relations with Elizabeth while abhorring her heretical proceedings.

He did not, however, drive the theory to its furthest limits by refusing altogether to concern himself with religion in England. On the contrary, it was the subject of his constant thoughts. He even went so far as to admit that in certain circumstances it might be his duty to take active measures for the restoration of catholicism. In 1560, and again in 1561, he informed Pius that as the eldest son of the church he would be ready, on a favourable opportunity, to execute a papal sentence.<sup>4</sup> But he claimed to decide

<sup>4</sup> *Supra*, pp. 50, 120.

for himself what time was opportune, and as a matter of fact the opportune time never came. Although he could contemplate action when action was in the future, a proposal to take some definite step always found him hostile.

The conflicting sentiments by which he was influenced resulted in a singularly ineffective policy. Although he regarded himself as the patron of the English catholics, who looked to him as their foremost hope, he never stirred a finger to bring about a catholic restoration. He steadily discouraged all plans of insurrection, he refused to listen to proposals for resistance in Ireland, his voice was always on the side of patience and forbearance. To Elizabeth herself he used no other language than that of kindness. He exhorted her, he advised her, he tried to persuade her to marry an orthodox husband, he supported Dudley's wooing in the hope that Dudley would bring her back to Rome, but he shrank from the use and even from the threat of force. His share in English relations with the papacy may be summed up in the one word obstruction. Whenever the pope contemplated or was thought to contemplate active intervention Philip interposed to stop him. In 1559 he overwhelmed Paul IV with entreaties to leave Elizabeth unmolested. When Parpaglia was sent to her in 1560 he protested with all his force and persuaded Pius to revoke the mission. When Martinengo was dispatched in 1561, as he himself had originally suggested, he repeated his old tactics. When it was proposed to excommunicate Elizabeth in 1563 he still harped on the old string, that the time was not ripe for such a dangerous enterprise. The net result of his policy was to make him the best

friend of the English reformation. But for his restraining hand Pius would almost certainly have pronounced sentence against Elizabeth, and the catholics would have been encouraged to rise in defence of their faith. Whether they would have overthrown the settlement of 1559 may be doubted, but at any rate they would have fought with a better prospect of success when Elizabeth was newly settled on the throne than they did in 1569 when she had been eleven years queen. They might at least have won some measure of toleration such as the Huguenots extorted from their oppressors in France.

Finally we have to consider the policy of England. Foreign affairs during the earlier part of Elizabeth's reign were almost entirely in the hands of Sir William Cecil. While the final decision in all questions rested with the queen she relied on her secretary at every turn, and no member of the privy council had an influence comparable to his. Immediately on her accession he had stepped into the first place in her confidence, and it was under his guidance that the allegiance of Rome was renounced in the first six months of her reign. His sympathies were entirely on the side of reform. In Mary's reign he had submitted to Roman observances, attending mass like a dutiful subject, but this forced conformity had merely increased his hostility to the papacy and all its works. In his eyes the pope was antichrist, the sworn foe of all good Englishmen. Elizabeth's character was more complex. Her birth and training marked her out as the enemy of Rome, and the humiliations which she had suffered under Mary had strengthened her ancestral antipathies. Yet she was far from being as thoroughgoing a reformer

as her secretary. Her despotic spirit and her love of stately ceremonial alienated her from the creed and ritual of Geneva. She was, moreover, imbued with a deep sense of her position as queen. Catholics were her subjects no less than protestants; she shrank from identifying herself absolutely with a single party in the state. Her ambition was to unite all her subjects in obedience to a national church. Being by nature lukewarm in religion she was unable to understand why men should defy her authority for the sake of what she regarded as trivial points of ceremony or minute differences of doctrine. If her catholic subjects would have acknowledged her supremacy she might have proved yielding on other points. As a true daughter of Henry VIII she was steadfastly hostile to the restoration of the authority of the pope in England.

From the earliest period of her reign she had occasion to consider her relations with Rome. She was resolved from the first to renounce the obedience of the holy see, but for a time she seemed inclined to a temporizing policy, which would prepare the way secretly for separation, while outwardly maintaining amicable relations. Soon, however, bolder counsels prevailed. The act of supremacy (May 8, 1559) by renouncing all foreign jurisdictions, and declaring the queen to be supreme governor of the church of England, made a declaration of war on the papacy. Paul IV, on his side, did not live long enough to answer the challenge. With a strange indifference he took no public notice of English affairs. During his pontificate, therefore, the two powers did not come in direct contact. England proclaimed her independence

without mentioning the name of Rome; Rome ignored the existence of England.

In December, 1559, Pius IV assumed the tiara. The new pope was not disposed to acquiesce in the withdrawal of England from his communion, and he hoped to bring about a restoration by a judicious mixture of persuasion and threats. The result was the mission of Parpaglia (May–June, 1560), which might have had important consequences if Spain had not interfered. Had the abbot applied for a safe-conduct as soon as he reached Brussels Elizabeth would hardly have refused it; if he had set foot in England the whole course of history might have been changed. By yielding to the dictation of Philip Pius let slip an opportunity which never returned.

His decision to re-summon the council of Trent opened a new chapter in Anglo-Roman relations. The English government now found itself compelled to survey a wider horizon, to consider its policy not merely with reference to the pope, but also with reference to the whole question of catholic unity. Could Englishmen who claimed to be members of the catholic church while discarding mediaeval corruptions refuse to take part in an assembly which was summoned for the purpose of healing the schisms of Christendom? On this subject opinions differed. Men like Throgmorton, relying on the rising strength of reform, favoured an active policy of participation, in the hope that the council would adopt their views. Cecil's clearer judgement told him that such visions were illusory. His feeling was decidedly against taking part. Elizabeth inclined to Throgmorton's side. Her indifference to doctrinal religion made her

underestimate the depth of the division between catholic and protestant; she had dreams of a body which would clip the wings of the papacy, and compromise confessional differences in some way that would be acceptable to all moderate men.

The question had another aspect. Whether England should recognize the council did not depend on insular considerations only, but also on the course which might be followed by other powers. Since the great object of its meeting was the re-establishment of religious unity members of the European body politic who refused to accept it must, according to mediaeval principles, be compelled by force to submit. In the face of such a possibility the great object of prudent statesmen was to seek for allies.

Elizabeth and her advisers were thus influenced by two motives, on the one hand by a desire, which was hardly more than a pious aspiration, for the reunion of Christendom, on the other by a very real fear of isolation. On the question of religion Europe was divided, broadly speaking, into three parties, Spain and the pope on one side, England and protestant Germany on the other, with France in the middle. The two wings were in clear antagonism, France wavered between protestant and catholic. The policy which circumstances marked out for England was to march in step with Germany, and to attract France to the same side. If all these powers acted in unison a party might be formed which would outweigh Spain and Italy, would be above all fear of attack, and might even make the council an instrument for extending the dominion of protestantism. It was with this object that the English government opened communications with France and

Germany in the winter of 1560–1 and that it continued them, intermittently, until the spring of 1562. In its main aim the endeavour failed. The German protestants, it is true, agreed to adjust their proceedings to those of England, but France refused to be tempted over to their side. Although the assent which it gave was hesitating and conditional, the French government nevertheless recognized the council, as summoned by the pope. It thus detached itself from England and Germany, who refused absolutely to take part. The main result of the events of the period was to widen the breach with Rome, and associate England more closely with the protestantism of the continent.

At an early period of the negotiations the mission of Martinengo brought England into direct contact with the papacy (April, 1561). On this occasion the fiasco of Parpaglia was not repeated. A definite demand for the admission of his nuncio was presented to Elizabeth on behalf of the pope. For a time, in consequence of her weakness for Dudley, the policy of England seemed likely to ‘shoot madly from its sphere’. If Dudley’s influence had prevailed Elizabeth would have accepted the council on the pope’s terms. But she was not prepared to risk all for love. Even at the height of her infatuation she did not propose to surrender at discretion. When she talked of recognizing a council she meant a body which would be independent of the pope, and would admit Anglican divines to its deliberations. In the end she declined to take even the first step towards reconciliation with Rome. Alarmed at the rumour of stirrings among the catholics, and realizing that a marriage with Dudley would cost her the affection and perhaps the obedience of her subjects, she

refused to admit Martinengo. On the first, and, as it proved, the last occasion on which an official communication reached her from the pope, she answered it with an unconditional refusal.

During the rest of the period with which we are concerned she continued steadily on the same path, a path which diverged farther and farther from the road to Rome. She turned a deaf ear to the blandishments of Cardinal Ferrara, she ignored the message which Pius sent her through Thomas Sackville, she refused to be tempted by the seductions of Bertano. There was no recurrence of the wavering of 1560 or the weakness of 1561. England had taken her place finally on the side of the Reformation.

## APPENDIX I

*Henry II to Babou, bishop of Angoulême, French ambassador at Rome. Saint-Germain-en-Laye, December 3 and 10, 1558.*

[Paris. Bibliothèque nationale. MS. 3318, f. 51. Contemporary copy. The original was in 1878 in the collection of documents of M. B. Fillon. E. Charavay, *Inventaire des autographes... réunis par M. Benjamin Fillon*, I. 32.]

Monsieur dangoulesme Vous aurez entendu par le depesche que le gobbe (qui partit le xxvii<sup>e</sup> de ce moys<sup>1</sup>) vous a portee / lestat enquoy en estoit lors de son partement la pratique de la paix et lopinion que javoys que le faict de Calais seroit pour empescher tout le fruct que nous en esperions veu mesmement que la longueur / dont ilz usoient a se resouldre / ne nen promectoit aultre yssue que celle qui sen est depuis ensuivye / Et comme ils en estoient en ces termes / la nouvelle de la mort de la Royne dangleterre survint / quiacheva de tout gaster / daultant questant ce Roy en esperance despouser la nouvelle Royne / et ne voulant luy donner occasion de mescontentement / il nestoit pas croiable quil feust pour conclurre ny faire aucun appoinctement avecques moy auquel les anglois ne feussent satisfactz et contentez / Ce questant bien et saigement preveu et considere par mes depputez ils ne faillirent incontinant de faire instance destre resoluz dudit Calais / ne voulans parler ny se laisser entendre plus avant sur autre quelconque point, que cestuy la ne feust resolu / qui fut le vray moyen pour leur arracher leur derniere conclusion / Qui fut en somme quilz ne pouvoient conclurre ny traicter avecques moy sans les angloys / Surquoy sestans dune part et daultre voulu separer / avant que ce faire ils adviserent de prolonger la tresve et abstinence de guerre de deux mois / Lequel terme ilz prindrent pour se rassembler / promectant

<sup>1</sup> 'Ce moys' is a mistake for 'Novembre'.

cependant de faire tout ce quilz pourroient pour induire et persuader les anglois de appoinctez avecques moy / Voyla la facon dont ceste assemblee sest separee / Surquoy il fault que je vous dye (monsieur dangoulesme) mon opinion / et les considerations qui ont peu mouvoir le Roy despaigne a en user de la facon quil a faict / Qui sont comme je scay et ay este adverty de tres bon lieu que prevoyant il y a plus de six moys la mort de la feue Royne dangleterre sa femme il a faict tout ce quil a peu pour faire gaigner ceste cy / affin de trouver moyen / sa femme morte / de lespouzer pour lesesperance quil auroit par la de unir pour jamais langleterre la flandre et lespaigne ensemble par le moyen des enfans qui viendroient de ce mariage estant elle jeune, belle et propre pour avoir enfans / De ce quil y a prouffice jusques a ceste heure je ne scay / mais il est bien certain que dez quil entendit lextremite de la feue Reyne / il depescha le conte de ferye pour remectre les fers au feu et faire tout ce quil pourroit pour y pouvoir parvenir / Et affin que vous scaichiez quelle elle est / tout le monde scait de quelle facon elle a vescu et de quelle opinias-trete elle a persevere en sa religion quelque contraincte et rigueur dont la feu Royne sa seur luy aye peu user pour len faire desister. Et de faict la premiere chose quelle a faicte / mourant sa seur / et elle entrant en Londres a este de faire crier quelle voulloit persister en sa religion et que chacun creust ce quil vouldroit / ne voullant contraindre personne de prendre aultre foy ny creance que celle quil vouldroit tenir / Voyla la creance de la nouvelle Royne dangleterre protestante pour la vye / et entierement contraire a celle que le Roy despaigne a jusques Icy suivye fort constamment / Maintenant on verra qui sera de meilleure opinion des deux Car silz viennent a se marier ensemble je ne scay quant a elle ce que sa loy et creance luy permect / mais selon celle que leglise catolicque tient si longuement observee par tout le monde / je scay bien que il ny a homme Chrestien qui puisse espouser les deux seurs sans dispense de nostre saint pere / Nen demandant point il est necessaire quil change de religion / et que lambition de ce Royaulme luy face practiquer ce dire / Sil

sault violer le droit et oublier Dieu / sa foy / et toutes choses  
saintes / il fault que ce soit pour regner / En ce cas sil a  
ceste opinion je ne faitz aucune doute / elle le voulant / quil  
ne lespose / Sil persevere en sa creance / et que comme  
lesglise nous commande il ayt recours a nostre saint pere pour  
luy octroyer la despense necessaire pour estre marie / Pour  
avoir sa saintete jusques icy si severement observe tous les  
pointz de nostre religion et si religieusement maintenu toutes  
les bonnes saintes et catolicques constitutions de lesglise je ne  
puis croire que sur ses derniers jours elle soit pour imprimer  
une telle tache a sa reputation et a la saintete de sa vye  
passee / de consentir jamais a une chose si contraire a lauthorite  
de lesglise et a tout droict et raison / Et mesmement questant  
luy catolique / et elle et son royaume protestant et ennemy de  
lesglise romaine / je ne scay comme selon Dieu et Raison ung  
homme de bon conscience peult faire ung tel mariage / Car si  
par les saintz canons la seulle conversation des hereticques et  
de ceulx qui estoient chassez du sein de lesglise nous a este  
prohibee et deffendue et leur a lon interdict leau et le feu  
comme on dict / Par plus forte raison le mariage le doibt estre  
ou il fault que toutes choses soient tellement conjointes quil  
ny puisse avoir aucune separation Qui me faict croire que  
quant sa saintete entendra tout ce que dessus qui nest  
quung proget de cent mil belles et saintes choses qui  
sur cela se peuvent dire et alleguer / pour estre telle  
que je lay toute ma vye estimee et que tout le monde la  
congneue / ne sera pour jamais consentir ny prester faveur  
a ung acte ou il y va tant de lhoneur de Dieu et de la sainte  
opinion en quoy il est justement tenu par tout le monde /  
Vous advisant monsieur dangoulesme que je vous ay faict tout  
ce discours pource quil est necessaire pour le bien de mon  
service / et prevenir de bon heure et preparer sa saintete de  
luy donner ceste impression avant que les espagnolz viennent  
a le gaigner / et luy faire entendre les choses aultrement  
quelles ne sont / Et pour ce faire il fault que vous gaignez  
dextrement / comme vous scaurez tres bien faire / quelcun de  
ses chetins qui sont comme vous savez les personnes du

monde quil croyt le plus qui luy puissent refferer tout ce que dessus et ce que vous y scaurez tres bien adjouter / selon que vous congnaisez son humeur pour le disposer a improuver ce fait / Car si une foye il vient a le trouver maulvais / le prenant par ou on le print en luy monstrant en cela le tort quil feroit a sa reputation et a la saintete en quoy il est tenu par tout / on le chastouillera par ou il luy demange / et sera comme congnoissez son naturel opiniastre / si persistant en son opinion quil ny aura jamais ordre de le gaigner, ny le luy faire passer / Qui ne sera pointe peu de fruct pour le bien de mon service / Car si le Roy despaigne a la religion telle comme il a monstre et que tout le monde dict / je croy quil ne passera jamais oultre sans cela / Et le moindre retardement quil y puisse avoir nappertera point peu davantaige a mes affaires. Maie je vous prie donny vous bien garde quon ne puisse descouvrir que celle vienne de vous en facon du monde car je ne scay encore comme jauray a vivre avec ladite royne et avant que le scavoir je ne vouldroye point me brouiller avecques elle et estant dit par cest maniere de gens il ne sera trouve si maulvais ny de luy ny daultres daultant quon estimera quilz ne parleront pour passion aucunement mais pour la seulle verite /

. . . . .

## APPENDIX 2

*Babou to Henry II. Rome, January 7, 1559.*

[Paris. Bibliothèque nationale. MS. fr. 20443, f. 206. Original.]

Sire,

Je receuz le quatriesme du présent vostre lettre de l'unziesme du passé, par le commencement de laquelle contenant ung épilogue de vostre précédente et dernière dépesche apportée par Le Gobe, j'ay veu comme vous, Sire, m'avez par cy devant escript du xxvii<sup>e</sup> novembre, que, estant la pratique de la paix tenue en longueur pour la difficulté et irresolution sur le faict de Calais seroit survenue la mort de la feue royne d'Angleterre qui auroit achevé de gaster tout . . .

Sire, vous avez peu veoir par ce que je vous ay escript du xxv<sup>e</sup> du passé<sup>1</sup> par courrier exprès ce que j'ay senty de l'opinion du Pape sur le fait de ladite dispence. Il ne m'a pas semblé estre requis de presser plus fort ne m'en formaliser d'avantaige que ce que je vous en ay escript en avoir fait, pour n'avoir aucun commendement sur ce de vous, et mesmes voyant de quel costé le vouloir du pape incline auquel je pensay estre meilleur qu'il sy gectast et y persistast de luy mesmes que [à] vostre sollicitation et requeste. Je ne fais doute, Sire, sur les advertissemens que j'en ay de tous costez qu'il ne soit pour y persévérer, pourveu que ladite royne dangleterre demeure en sa protestation, mais si elle avoit gaigné ce point de luy faire acroire qu'elle voulust retourner à l'église sans aucune faincte ou dissimulation, en ce cas, je fais doute que le bon homme se laissast aller du costé dont il penseroit tirer plus de bien pour sa maison et tiens pour certain que, estans toutes choses pareilles, voire avecques quelque désavantaige, il inclineroit de vostre part plutost que de celui du roy Philipps. Quant aux Théatins, depuis que j'ay congnoissance des choses de deça, je ne me suis point apperceu qu'ils ayent autre puissance envers luy que de luy rapporter nouvelles de la façon de vivre, actes et propoz d'un chascun, et par ce moyen peuvent donner quelques impressions et de l'ung et de l'autre, et communément en mauvaise part, mais au surplus ilz suyvent ses opinions et voluntez, fondées à bonnes et vives raisons, qu'il confirme par beaulx exemples et auctoritez de l'Ecriture, ausquelles il ne se fault pas jouer et contredire. Je ne lairray toutesfoix de tenter le moyen que me mandez, si commodément se peult faire sans riens gaster ne hazarder.

Sire, je vous envoye la coppie d'ung avis venu de Flandres qui court par ceste ville tire d'une lettre de l'abbé de Saint Salut et de quelques aultres du iiiii<sup>e</sup> du passé, à ce que vostre Majesté voye comme ils ont fait entendre à la nouvelle royne d'Angleterre que vos ministres de deça avoient faict instance envers le pape de la faire

<sup>1</sup> Ribier, *Lettres*, ii. 774.

déclarer bastarde. J'en parlay hier au cardinal Carafe et luy diz que le pape et luy estoient bons et suffisans tesmoings si jamais on leur en avoit parlé / non pas du temps desdicts avis, car il estoit impossible, d'autant que ne scavions pas icy la mort de la dicte feue royne, mais encore depuis que les nouvelles en sont icy qui fut le xii<sup>e</sup> du passé. Je crois qu'ils ne diront pas que personne en ait ouvert la bouche de la part de vostre majesté. Le dict cardinal me respondit que c'estoit une invention d'espaignols pour irriter la dicte royne contre vous et que je puis estre asseuré qu'ils ne laissent jamais en arri re nulle manière de meschanceté pour parvenir à leurs desseings et que les ministres du roy d'Espagne ne luy ont jamais monstré qu'ils eussent double ou suspicion que moy ny aultre eussions faict tel office par deça, et qu'ils ne se sont point encore estenduz jusques à demander la *dispense du mariage dudit roy d'Espagne et de ladite nouvelle<sup>1</sup> royne*, bien en ont ils touché en parolles couvertes, attendans, comme je juge, d'en parler plus ouvertement, mais qu'ils puissent estre asseurez du vouloir de ladicte royne, je n'entroy point plus avant en propos avecques ledict cardinal, estant d'avis que le moins s'eschauffer en ceste matière est le meilleur ; mais il me semble, Sire, que la dicte royne entendra bien difficilement au mariage d'elle et du roy Philippe, ne pouvant contracter avec luy, à mon jugement, qu'elle ne confesse par cet acte là que le royaume d'Angleterre ne luy appartient de succession, en quelque sorte de religion qu'elle vueille vivre, car par la elle approuveroit le mariage d'entre son feu père et la royne Catherine et confesseroit que les *deux freres ou les deux<sup>1</sup>* seurs se peuvent espouser soit avecques ou sans dispense, ce qui luy est nécessaire de nier, voulant maintenir nul ledict mariage d'entre le roy Henry et royne Catherine, lequel constant, elle est conceue et née d'une aultre femme, aultrement il fauldroit dire qu'on peust en mesme temps avoir deux femmes légitimes qui est une opinion aussi peu approuvée des protestans que des catholicques . . . .

Rome. 7 de Janvier 1559.

<sup>1</sup> The words in italics are underlined in the original.

## APPENDIX 3

*Report by Babou, French ambassador at Rome,  
February 2, 1559.*

[Paris. Bibliothèque nationale. MS. No. 3102, f. 45. An eighteenth-century copy is in the British Museum. King's MS., cxi, pp. 53, 56.]

Instruction baillée a M<sup>r</sup> de Saint Ferme partant de Rome  
le xi de fevrier 1559.

Nostre dit saintc pere se mist aussy a parler de l'angleterre, et deplorer le piteux estat en quoy cette Isle estoit en dangier de se trouver pour le regard de la Religion et salut des ames, et entre autres choses tomba sur le feu Cardinal Pole auquel il dit que s'il estoit en vie il feroit faire son proces aussy bien qu'a Amoron [Morone], et que avant que avoir entendu sa mort, il avoit ordonné qu'il fust cité a comparoistre icy pour crime de la foy.

Voilà quant a l'audience du xxii<sup>e</sup> du passé . . . . .

Fait a Rome le ii<sup>e</sup> Fevrier 1559.

## APPENDIX 4

*Vargas to Philip II. Rome, June 28, 1560.*

[Archivo general de Simancas. Secretaria de Estado. Legajo 886, f. 42.]

He hablado diestramente al doctor Eduardo Carne, y el vino ami haviendo tenido aviso de los Embaxadores que ay residen de Inglaterra de lo que alla se tractava, y en gran secreto me dixo que si yva a Inglaterra o havia de perder la cabeza o ser hereje y por esto queriendo

bivir y morir Catholico havia procurado que Papa Paulo, y despues el que agora es lo detuviesse para que con este color la Reyna no le confiscasse sus bienes, y dexasse bivir a su muger e hijos, y que me rogava supplicasse a Vuestra Magestad (a quien despues de Dios tenia por señor y amparo) le ayudasse a este su proposito pues por servir a Dios estava desterrado, y de la manera que se veye y que a essos Embaxadores en ningun modo se los dixesse esto, ni se hiziesse mención de que se quedava aquí por Catholico, sino que el Papa le detenia, como por rehenes de la obediencia que dio por Inglaterra, y por lo demas que ha querido, estante lo qual no me ha parecido hablar a su Santidad no haviendo para que . . . . .

de Roma 28 de Junio 1560

## APPENDIX 5

*Philip II to Paul IV. Brussels, April 24, 1559.*

[Archivo general de Simancas. Secretaria de Estado. Legajo 885, f. 203.]

Al papa de Bruselas a 24 de Abril 1559.

Aunque no dubdo que vuestra Santidad deve tener aviso del modo que estos dias han procedido las cosas de nuestra religion en Inglaterra, me ha parecido darselo yo en esta del estado en que al presente se hallan, pues por la particular noticia y avisos ciertos que tengo de lo de allí, lo puedo hazer mejor que nadie y juzgar ser muy conveniente que vuestra Santidad lo sepa por si acaso algunos por sus respectos y fines particulares han hecho a vuestra Santidad otra relacion. Quando entendi que la Reyna, que aya gloria, estava indisposta del mal que murio embie a visitarla con el conde de feria, de mi conse destado, y aviendo sido Dios servido desela llevar para si, y succedio en el Reyno Madama Elisabet su hermana,

mande al Conde que asistiesse allí, y de mi parte hiziese todos los buenos officios posibles para que las cosas de la religion se conservassen y llevassen adelante en el ser que la Reyna y yo con el favor de Dios, y autoridad dessa sancta sede, las aviamos puesto. El qual se ha avido en esto de manera que ha aprovechado mucho su travajo y buena diligencia, porque aunque al principio las cosas se comenzaron a dañar de suerte que se temio no se acabassen de perder del todo, ha plazido a nuestro señor, que con su ayuda principalmente y con el calor de las pazes y los continuos y vivos officios que sobreello se han hecho y hazen de mi parte paresce que no van del todo tan rotas como estos dias passados se pensava pues como me scrive el conde aviendo offresco e Instado a la Reyna los mismos del parlamento que tomasse el título de suprema cabeza de la yglesia de aquel Reyno, lo ha rehusado con humildad y modestia, y aunque los malos y dañados han mostrado sentimiento desto, ella hasta agora ha quedado y esta tan firme en no querer acceptarlo, que ha sido muy gran demostracion de lo que obra dios en esta su causa, y de la esperanca que se deve tener que no la dexara caer, y pues esto lleva mejor camino, y yo como hijo de vuestra Santidad y dessa sancta sede, lo tengo tan a cargo, que ninguna cosa desta vida me da hoy mas cuidado, y como tal ando procurando y he de procurar con todas mis fuerças, que aquel Reyno este y persevere siempre debaxo de la obediencia de vuestra Santidad, muy humilmente le supplico se quiera entender comigo en estos negocios, y no haga declaracion ni novedad ninguna en ellos, sin tener aviso mio de como allí procedieren las cosas que yo le yre dando de mano en mano a vuestra Santidad antes (usando de su paternal clemencia y charidad) tenga por bien vuestra Santidad de llevarlas por la via de la templança y moderacion, pues (con su gran prudencia acompañada del zelo que vuestra Santidad tiene al bien de la religion) vera claro ser esto lo que mas conviene y que lo contrario seria causa de exasperar a los de aquel Reyno y de mover en el algun tumulto, que por ventura, acabasse de perder los catholicos que en el ay, que son muchos y tan

buenos y tan constantes, que ni por miedo ni por ningun otro respecto se han dexado torcer hasta aquí del verdadero camino, y porque quedo muy confiado que con aver advertido a vuestra Santidad de lo que passa en estos negocios, procedera en ellos como vee que cumple para traerlos al buen fin que se pretende, Remitiendome a Ascanio Carracciolo, al qual, supplico a vuestra Santidad mande dar entera fee y creencia en todo lo que de mi parte le dixere y acordare cerca dellos, no me alargare mas en esta de supplicar a nuestro señor guarde por muchos años la muy sancta persona de vuestra Beatitud al bueno y prospero regimiento de su universal yglesia.

## APPENDIX 6

*Philip II to Paul IV. Brussels, May 22, 1559.*

[Archivo general de Simancas. Secretaria de Estado. Legajo 885, f. 204.]

Al Papa de Brusselas a 22 de Mayo 1559.

Muy sancto Padre A los 24 de Abril scrivi a vuestra Santidad el estado en que se hallavan las cosas de la Religion en Inglaterra, y la esperança que se tenia de que (segun las demostraciones que havia dado la Reyna) tendrian el assiento que yo desseava, y he procurado con toda la Industria y diligencia, que humanamente ha sido possibile, Pero ha sucedido tan al reves, que me ha parecido hacerlo luego saber a vuestra Santidad aunque con mas pena y sentimiento de lo que aquí podria dezir, ni encarrescer, assí por la razon que ay para ello, como por el que recibira vuestra Santidad siendo tan zeloso de la honrra y servicio de dios nuestro señor y de las cosas de nuestra fee catholica quando entienda de la manera que allí se han profanado, y fue que a los 8 del presente se acabo de determinar en el parlamento que de aquí adelante se ayan de

guardar en aquel reyno la secta y errores, que avia en tiempo de Eduardo, y que pues la Reyna (como scrivi a vuestra Santidad) avia rehusado el título de cabeza de la yglesia Anglicana, lo tomasse de Governadora, y assí lo acepto, y confirmo todo lo que se avia acordado en el parlamento, tan contrario de nuestra verdadera religion, Aunque los catholicos que son todos los obispos, y otros muchos del Reyno estuvieron tan firmes, y conformes, que ni las promesas, ni amenazas que se les hizieron bastaron a persuadirlos, ni doblarlos un punto a que consintiessen en cosa ninguna de lo que se hizo, mostrandose muy animosos y determinados de morir por la verdad, si fuese menester, y estos son tantos y tan buenos, que por solos tres votos mas de los contrarios se resolvio, que se quitasse la missa, y que se dixessen los officios en su vulgar Ingles, lo qual no fue assí en tiempo de Enrico Octavo, que consintieron todos los del parlamento, salvo el Rofense, y Thomas Moro, y agora ninguno de los ecclesiasticos vino en lo que se ha hecho, y de los legos contradijeron algunos en lo de la scisma, y en lo de las heregias muy muchos, De lo qual me ha parecido advertir a vuestra Santidad y supplicarle muy humilmente, que no se resuelva en mandar proceder sobre esto, ni hazer declaracion ni novedad alguna contra la Reyna, hasta ver en que paran otros medios que agora se le han propuesto de mi parte, y allí se tratan (a que no dejan de dar oydos) con las quales se podria tener esperança que se remediará, y de lo que se resolviere dare luego aviso a vuestra Santidad para que conforme a aquello haga lo que mas convenga al bien de la Religion, y servicio, y honrra de nuestro señor que es el fin solo y principal con que yo me muevo a entender en esto, y advertir a vuestra Santidad de lo que cerca dello entiendo y me ocurre. Remitiendo lo demas a lo que le dira de mi parte sobresto Ascanio Caraciolo y principalmente al gran juyzío y prudencia de vuestra Beatitud.

## APPENDIX 7

*Philip II to Paul IV. Brussels, May 26, 1559.*

[Archivo general de Simancas. Secretaría de Estado. Legajo 885, f. 205.]

*Endorsed A su santidad de Brusselas a 26 de Mayo 1559.  
En respuesta de un breve suyo, y en creencia de Ascanio cara-  
ciolo sobre las cosas de Inglaterra.*

Teniendo scripta a vuestra Santidad la carta que va con esta, que le dara ascanio Caraciolo sobre las cosas de inglaterra, recibi el breve que vuestra Santidad me mando scrivir a los 6 del presente, con que he recibido muy singular contentamiento, de ver en lo que vuestra Santidad ha estimado el cuydado, que tengo de procurar que las cosas de la religion en aquel Reyno y la obediencia y observancia que se deve a vuestra Santidad y a essa sancta sede, no viniessen en terminos de rompimiento, yo he perseverado y persevero en ello, assí con cartas y nuevos medios, como con los continuos e importunos officios, que mando hazer por los ministros que allí tengo, y aunque no han podido contener a la Reyna y a los que la aconsejan que no passasen adelante, todavia (como lo entendera vuestra Santidad de Ascanio) desseo que vuestra Santidad tuviesse por bien de no proceder a lo que podria, hasta ver si aprovecharan los medios que agora se han propuesto de nuevo, de los quales yo terne en breve respuesta y avisare luego a vuestra Santidad de lo que huviere, cuyos pies beso muy humilmente por lo que en esto dize, y le supplico de fee y creencia a Ascanio en lo que de mi parte le dixere cerca dello, y que tenga por cierto que a procurar esto no me mueve otro fin, sino el servycio de nuestro señor, bien de la religion, y el ferviente desseo con que bivo, de que todos sean tan obedientes a vuestra Santidad y a essa sancta sede, como yo que en esto me quiero preciar que ninguno de los passados me ha hecho ventaja ni menos me la haran los presentes, y con esta voluntad ruego a nuestro señor guarde etc.

## APPENDIX 8

*Philip II to Ascanio Caracciolo. Brussels,  
May 27, 1559.*

[Archivo general de Simancas. Secretaria de Estado. Legajo 885, f. 217.]

A Ascanio Caraciolo de Bruselas a 27 de Mayo 1559.  
El Rey.

Magnifico fiel y amado nuestro.

Por lo que os scrivimos a los 24 del passado, avreis visto el termino, en que entonces estava lo que se tratava en el Parlamento de Inglaterra cerca de las cosas de nuestra religion, y el officio que os embiamos a mandar que hiziesedes con su sanctidad para que no procediesse contra la Reyna, hasta ver el fin, que tenian los negocios, el qual ha sido tan malo que no podia ser peor, pues por sus peccados ella y sus adherentes han estado tan ciegos, que apartandose del camino de la verdad, han introducido las Heregias passadas, que la Reyna (que esta en gloria) y yo (mediante la gracia divina) aviamos echado de aquel Reyno, aunque todavia han quedado en el tantos Catholicos y tan constantes en la fee, que han bien mostrado, quan biva la tenian como lo scrivo mas en particular a su Santidad en la carta que va con esta, la qual vos le dareis luego, y en conformidad de lo que contiene, que es lo que vereis por la copia della, que se os embia para este effecto, supplicareis de mi parte a su Santidad con toda Instancia, que en ninguna manera proceda contra la Reyna, y los de aquel Reyno, ni haga declaracion alguna contra ellos, hasta ver en que paran algunos medios, que de mi parte se le han propuesto a la Reyna, a que no dexan de dar oydos, y con ellos, si succeden, se puede tener esperanca de remedio, y quando no succediese esto, y todavia perseverasse la Reyna en lo que ha determinado, yo dare luego noticia dello a su

santidad para que haga aquello, que conforme a Dios y a Justicia viere que se deve, y en caso que no bastasse lo que yo le scrivo, ni el officio, que vos hareis en mi nombre, para que su santidad quiera dexar de proceder a la declaracion, y vieredes que resolutamente está determinado a ello, despues de aver hecho todo quanto se pudiere para estorvarlo, aveis de acordar, y supplicar a su santidad que mande exceptuar los buenos y Catholicos, que ay en aquel Reyno, de la excomunion, que contra los hereges hiziere, pues este y qualquier otro consuelo y favor que su Beatitud les hiziere, lo tienen tambien merescido, alargando os en lo uno y en lo otro, segun vieredes convenir, y haciendo la principal Instancia, en que por agora, y hasta que yo torne a scrivir a su Santidad no haga novedad alguna, pues todavia ay la esperanca que digo, de remedio, y avisareisme luego particularmente, de lo que os respondiere su Beatitud, porque estare con desseo de saberlo, como negocio de tan grande importancia, Que en ello me scrivereis De [sic<sup>1</sup>] estando scripta esta y la que va para su Santidad recibi vuestra carta de 6 deste con el breve de su Santidad sobreestas cosas de Inglaterra a lo qual ay poco que responder mas de remitirme a lo que arriba esta dicho, y encargaros de nuevo que hagais muy gran Instancia con su Santidad para que no proceda en estos negocios hasta que se vea en que paran estas diligencias que agora se hazen, y besareis los pies a su Santidad por lo que cerca dello me scrive que nunca spere menos y assí lo deve al amor y veneracion que yo tengo a su muy santa persona, dandole una breve carta que le scrivo en respuesta del dicho breve.

<sup>1</sup> Something is missing here. The word 'estando' begins a new sentence.

## APPENDIX 9

*Philip II to Cardinal Pacheco. Brussels,  
May, 1559.*

[Archivo general de Simancas. Secretaria de Estado. Legajo 885, f. 29.]

Al cardenal Pacheco sobre las cosas de Inglaterra

<sup>1</sup>

scrivo mas largamente a su Santidad supplicandole todavia que no proceda a declararla [Elizabeth] hasta que yo le avise de lo que avra aprovechado esta diligencia, ya vos os [sic] ruego afectuosamente que en las ocasiones que se offrescieren le hableis en la misma conformidad, dandola a entender como esta dilacion es solamente por el bien del negocio pues otro fin no me mueve a procurarla como su Beatitud lo podra bien juzgar, Estando advertido que si a caso, quisiesse todavia su santidad proceder contra la reyna y sus subditos lo que vos aveis de procurar con toda la Instancia posible que suspenda hasta que le avisemos en que avran parado los medios que agora se le han propuesto aveis de tener la mano que se exceptuen expressamente todos los buenos y catholicos de aquell reyno, que hay muchos tan firmes y constantes en la fee, que no los apartaria della ningun trabajo ni martirio a los quales seria gran consuelo ver que su Santidad tiene cuenta con ellos y animarlos a que estuviesen mas constantes en su buen proposito y no seria justo que padesciesen por la culpa de los malos, que de qualquier buen officio que sobresto hizieredes con su Beatitud recibire mucho plazer y contentamiento.

<sup>1</sup> The earlier part of this letter is not printed, as it merely repeats what is said in Appendixes 6 to 8.

## APPENDIX 10

*Philip II to Caracciolo. Brussels, July 3, 1559.*

[Archivo general de Simancas. Secretaria de Estado. Legajo 885,  
f. 218, 219.]

*Endorsed A Ascanio Caracciolo a trenta de Junio 1559  
de Bruselas cerrada a 3 de Julio.*

La diligencia que hizistes con su santidad sobre las cosas de Inglaterra para que no procediesse a declaracion contra la reyna y el reyno fue muy buena hasta ver en que paran los medios de que agora se trata y aunque estos estan en pie y se continuan, todavia os he mandado avisar de lo que despues ha passado por que hagais relacion dello a su santidad para que pues se ha avido conmigo en esto con tanto amor y synceridad vea y conozca que no se le encubre nada de mi parte, y assi se le avisara de lo que mas huviere como es razon, y aunque las cosas van cada dia empeorando y la Reyna passa adelante en su mal proposito, todavia este medio que se ha propuesto y aver tantos buenos y catholicos en aquel reyno y tan firmes en lo de la religion me hazen no perder del todo la esperanca, assi lo direis a su santidad y que continuamente le terne avissado de lo que huvyere, como agora lo hago, y segun le vieredes determinado, assi seguireis en esto la orden que os tengo dada.

Lo que de aca avria que deciros entendereis de don Gonçalo Chacon mi gentilhombre de la boca al qual embio avisar a su santidad y a que me traiga nuevas de su salud.

## APPENDIX II

*Caracciolo to Philip II. Rome, July 16, 1559.*

[Archivo general de Simancas. Secretaria de Estado. Legajo 884, f. 180.]

Sacra Catholica et Reale Maesta

Hier sera 15 io hebbi l'audientia, et poi d' haverli data la sua lettera . . . Feci legere a Sua Santita l'avvisi d' Ingilterra et mostro gran despiacere che le cose della Religione andassero cosi amale, ma molta satisfactione che la Maesta vostra la tenesse cosi ben avisata delle cose di la et me disse che la Maesta vostra non dovria tardare a farsene padrone di quella ysola per che la sarebbe facile con li stati de Fiandra et con lo ajuto di catholici poi che questa regina e bastarda et per piu vi e caduta da la heredita et che il re di Franzia starebbe quieto con godersi la Scocia in pace. Dice anco che tienne per fermo che la Maesta vostra non partira per Spagna che non habbia pigliato resolutione alle sudette cose et datone particolar raguaglio a Sua Beatitudine.

Ascanio Caracciolo.

In Roma 16 Luglio 1559.

## APPENDIX I2

*Gonzalo Chacon to Philip II. Rome,  
August 1, 1559.*

[Archivo general de Simancas. Secretaria de Estado. Legajo 884, f. 135.]

Sacra Catholica Real Magestad

Io llegue aqui a los 26 de Julio en la noche no pudiendo hazer mas diligencia a causa del tiempo ser tan rezio y de otros estorvos que en el camino tuve. En allegando aqui

comunique con el Cardenal mi tio todo lo que traia conforme a lo que Vuestra Magestad me mando a los 29 tuve audiencia de su Santidad. A la qual fue conmigo el Cardenal y aunque fue muy grata porque me tuvo mas de dos oras no me parecio por entonces trattar otra cosa sino la Visitacion de parte de Vuestra Magestad . . . me respondio muy largo diziendome el contentamiento grande y placer que havia recibido con la visita y en quanto lo estimava y el gran amor que a vuestra Magestad tiene que es todo lo que puede caber en su corazon, loando infinito a Vuestra Magestad de todas las virtudes que pueden caber en un Rey y diciendome que tenia a vuestra Magestad por hijo verdadero y que assi lo mostraria en todo lo que el pudiese como Vicario de Christo el qual le ditava esto pues en este tiempo no havia otro pilar de su Iglesia tan grande y tan constante como Vuestra Magestad y en esta conformidad me dixo tantas cosas que sy las huviesse de escrevir seria cansar a Vuestra Magestad

No puede su Santidad creer la yda de Vuestra Magestad a Spaña specialmente en esta coyuntura haviendo de una parte lo de francia y de la otra lo de Inglaterra que tan facilmente tiene por cierto que la podria tomar Vuestra Magestad con lo qual haria temblar a todo el mundo y assi me parece que Vuestra Majestad antes de su partida le embiasse a dar quenta della y de las causas que tiene para hazello.

de Roma primero de Agosto 1559

Don Gonçalo Chacon.

### APPENDIX 13

#### *Opinion on English affairs. Early in 1560.*

[Record Office. Roman transcripts, vol. 106, f. 18. From Vatican Archives, Arm. 64, tom. 28, f. 343.]

Parrebbe, se così giudicasse Nostro Signore et gli Illustrissimi et Reverendissimi Signori Cardinali che Sua Santità

havesse à far chiamare il vecchio ambasciatore d' Inghilterra, il quale è qui, alla presentia d' alcuni Cardinali che le piacesse di radunare non excedendo però il numero di 4, o di 5 et gli dimostrasse quanto rincresca à Sua Santità vedere che la Regina d' Inghilterra con tutto il suo Reame vadino à perditione, più, sicome Nostro Signore vuol credere, per ignorantia della verità, che per malitia, o, mancamento di buona volontà et bontà quale deve havere ogni buon christiano, et massimamente una grande Principessa, como ella è ; et che per questo effetto Sua Santità commettesse et ordinasse à detto Ambasciatore che facesse intendere alla detta Regina che ogni volta che ella volesse riconoscersi, et tornare alla buona strada, dalla quale ella s' è smarrita Sua Santità è prontissima non solamente di riceverla benignamente, et di riunirla con la santa chiesa catholica, ma di ornarla delle gracie et privilegii che hanno havuti i suoi predecessori, et più grandi ancora se la ragione et giustitia il permetterà, esortandola et pregandola sommamente che ella voglia ricevere questa ammonitione come quella che viene da padre et da colui che tiene il luogo del vicario di Jesuchristo nella terra, et non desidera altro che la salute et la vita delle anime et non la morte, Et che dispiacerà infinitamente a Sua Santità se la detta Regina ricuserà questa salutare e paterna ammonitione d'haver cagione di ricorrere à Dio, et alla authorità che ella ha havuta da lui et di cercare altro mezzo et altra via di procedere che di dolcezza. Et à quanto di sopra è detto Sua Santità secondo il suo buon giudicio et consiglio di buoni et gran personaggi che ella ha appresso di se potrà aggiungere, ò levare tutto quello che le parrà il meglio.

Che Sua Santità potrà dire al detto Ambasciatore che se ella pensasse che detta Regina volesse ricevere qualche persona che venisse da parte sua, ella non mancarebbe di mandargliela quale il merito della causa lo ricerca, Et non potendo esser certa di ciò desidera che il detto ambasciatore espedisca uno à posta alla detta Regina per sapere la sua risoluta intentione frà il tempo che piacerà a Sua Santità di determinarle.

Parrebbe ancora che nel medesimo tempo Sua Santità avvisasse l' Imperatore, et li Serenissimi Re Christianissimo et Catholico di detto spaccio, et li pregassee caldamente, che dal canto loro facessero intendere à loro ambasciatori presso la detta Regina, che le loro Maestà essendo state avvise da Sua Santità della detta spedizione le vogliono far intendere quanto questo officio et ammonitione di Sua Santità sia salutare et profitevole à lei et à tutto il suo Reame, et che per l'amore et amicitia fraternale che le portano la pregono et consegliano che voglia accettare questi buoni et santi ricordi che Sua Santità le dà. Et che non volendo ciò fare esse non ardirebbono ne vorrebbono per il debito et conscientia loro, qualunque grande amicitia et intelligencia elle habbino con essaiei, che ella si promettesse di poter tirare da loro alcuno ajuto favore et soccorso, in caso che Sua Santità procedesse più inanzi contra lei. Ma al contrario che il nome di Christiani et Catholici che hanno farà più presto lor Maestà seguitare et favorire la buona et santa intentione di Sua Santità.

*Endorsed* Parere sopra le cose d' Inghilterra.

## APPENDIX 14

*Cardinal Borromeo to the bishop of Terracina,  
nuncio in Spain. May 4, 1560.*

[Record Office. Roman transcripts, vol. 69. From Vatican Archives, Germania Nunziatura, vol. iv, f. 13 v. Registro di Lettere per Spagna.]

Al vescovo di Terracina Nuntio die iiiii Maii [1560].

Molto Reverendo Signor come fratello Vostra Signoria haverà da sapere che nostro Signore hà deliberato di mandar un Nuntio à la Regina d' Inghilterra, per tentar, et far prova di ridurla al gremio de la Chiesa et ubedienza di questa santa sede, parendogli che l' occasione de li garbugli ne li quali al presente detta Regina si ritrova dieno speranza di poter haver honor di questa impresa. Hora Sua Santità hà fatto elettione per

questo effetto de l' Abbate Parpaglia : et già gli hà dati denari per partire, et gli dà tanta fretta che per ogni modo credo che per tutto dimane partirà. Ha commissione di passar per Francia, et con quelle Maestà far tutti quegli officii, et procurar tutti quegli ajuti, ch' egli giudicherà profitevoli al negotio. In Fiandra farà il medesimo con Madama la Governatrice, et noi di quà faremo far officio con l' Imperatore acciò ajuti lui ancora un' opera tanto santa.

Resta solo di procurar il medesimo con Sua Catholica Maestà. Per il quale effetto oltre che Sua Santità hà parlato lei propria con l' ambasciadore Vargas, acciò ne scriva à la detta Maestà, ha voluto che se ne scriva ancora a Vostra Signoria con ordine che dia conto a detta Maestà di questo fatto, et la preghi a voler dar commissione à l' ambasciadore suo residente in Inghilterra, et a Madama la Governatrice, et altri suoi ministri di Fiandra che ajutino, et favorischino con ogni lor potere il negocio sopradetto. Vostra Signoria non mancherà dunque di far questo officio diligentemente, procurando che l' ordine in Inghilterra et in Fiandra vada piu gagliardo, et quanto primo si potrà, come merita la santissima intentione con la quale Sua Santità si move a questa impresa.

*Cardinal Borromeo to Hosius, nuncio to the emperor. Rome, May 26, 1560.*

[Fortgesetzte Sammlung von Alten und Neuen Theologischen Sachen, year 1723, p. 15. Ex autographo, quod in Bibliotheca Serenissimi Principis Gothani asservatur.]

Reverende in Christo Domine, tanquam frater honorande. Hodie scripsimus ad Reverendam Dominationem tuam, quæ nobis occurrabant de deliberatione, & propensione sanctissimi Domini nostri super rebus concilii. Nunc per hanc epistolam sciet Dominatio Tua, sanctitatem suam misisse tandem in

Angliam nuntium suum, Abbatem Parpaliam, ob eam potissimum causam, de qua Dominationi Tuæ scripsimus xviii hujus mensis. Abbas vero discessit hinc heri, prosequiturque diligenter mutatis equis iter suum : qua de re tota in Galliam quoque & in Hispaniam scripsimus, ut illi reges faveant, quibuscumque officiis potuerint, negotio ipsius Abbatis. Quare, licet Dominationi Tuæ commiserimus supra dictis litteris nostris datis xviii hujus mensis, ut daret operam diligenter, ut Caesarea Majestas præstaret huic negotio omne auxilium, & favorem : Voluit tamen Sanctitas sua, ut præsentibus litteris eandem rem Dominationi Tuæ denuo injungam : mittamque ei alligatum Breve, quod super hoc negotio Anglicano Sanctitas sua scribit Cæsareæ Majestati ; atque ideo in manus tuas mittimus, ut per te ei reddatur ; addanturque in hanc sententiam ea omnia, quæ pro tua prudentia expedire judicabis. Interim Jesus Christus dominus noster Dominationem Tuam servet incolumem, cui me ex animo offero. Datum Romæ xxvi Maii MDLX.

Eiusdem reverendæ Dominationis tuæ  
uti frater

Carolus Cardinalis Borromeo.

## APPENDIX 16

*Instructions to the bishop of Viterbo, nuncio in France. Rome, May 15, 1560.*

[Record Office. Roman Transcripts, vol. 105. From Vatican Archives, Archivio particolare.]

Instruzione data da Pio IV al Vescovo di Viterbo, Nuntio in Francia 15 Maggio 1560.

Potrete render conto à quelle Maesta del proposito che Nostro Signore ha de tentar l'animo de la Regina d'Inghilterra, et far seco ogni sorte d'amorevole officio con un Nuntio a posta per cavarla d'errore, et ridurla al gremio et unione de la Santa Chiesa, et che per disponerla non pretermetterà Sua Santità tutti modi, et le vie dolci et amorevoli, con pro-

mettergli tutte quelle satisfattioni che da un buon Pontifice et Padre commune lei possa desiderare, et in cio si desidera che Sua Maesta Christianissima presti l'ajuto et favor suo, con scriverne caldamente à l'ambasciadore suo in Inghilterra che faccia quanto dal Nuntio gli sarà ricercato. Et quando poi la detta Regina voglia persistere ne l'ostinatione, si cercherà co 'l mezo et ajuto del Concilio, et con ogni altro miglior modo di castigarla.

## APPENDIX 17

*Babou to Henry II. Rome, May 27, 1560.*

[Paris. Bibliothèque nationale, ms. fr. 3102, f. 93. A contemporary copy.]

Quant à ce qui concerne le fait d'Escosse et les déportemens de la royne d'Angleterre, nostre Saint Père nous respondit que l'abbé de Saint-Salut estoit party, comme aussi il estoit le mesme jour pour aller de sa part devers ladicte royne d'Angleterre, luy faire les deues remonstrances et admonestemens, et essaier toutes les façons que l'on pourra de la convertir et réduire à la voye de salut. A quoy si elle ne veut entendre sa Sainteté, après avoir faict son debvoir, ne fauldra pas de procéder contre elle et uzer de la puissance que Dieu luy a donnée.

Rome. 27 Mai 1560.

## APPENDIX 18

*Report by Montagu and Chamberlain, English ambassadors in Spain. Toledo, June 20, 1560.*

[British Museum. Cotton ms. Vesp. C.vii, No. 37, f. 131.]

So have we now from a good place gotene knowledge, as I the Lord Mountague god willing shall more

Lardglye declare yowe<sup>1</sup> that the last pope ernistlie Labored before his deathe with this king, and so hathe this by his nuntio last here arrived<sup>2</sup> to consent to an excomunicaçon to be put out against your persone and your realme, and having this nuncio ernistlie incistide with this prince and continued in his pretence at sondryie and many tymes / ffor the pourpose he hathe bene answerid with thiese few wordes as to us have bene credebly reportid./ I wold not have my good syster the Quene of Englond molestid or tochid with enything in otherwise then myn owne self, for I know her to be a princes of wisdome and prudence having in me full and perfict confidence as her assurid good brother & frinde and wolle be ruled and counsailled in all that I shall resonably require her.

ffrom Toledo the 20th of June 1560.

## APPENDIX 19

*Vargas to Philip II. Rome, May 6, 1560.*

[Archivo general de Simancas. Secretaria de Estado. Legajo 886, f. 25.]

Su Santidad entendido lo que passa en Inglaterra, y rotura con Franceses, y que en aquel reyno ay muchos Catholicos que dessean favor, y ayuda, ha acordado de embiar una persona a la Reyna para tractar con ella, y ver si ay algun medio de reduzilla, y que para esto huviesse inteligencia entre su Santidad y ella a efecto que de aca se embiasse legado, y de alla viniesse embaxador de que su Santidad habra tres dias me dio parte para que lo scriviese a Vuestra Magestad diziendome juntamente que queria tractar con la Reyna por

<sup>1</sup> When this letter was written Mountagu was about to return to England.

<sup>2</sup> Ottaviano Rovere, Bishop of Terracina. He arrived at the Spanish court at the end of March, 1560. *Ven. Cal.* 179, 186.

blanduras, y tambien dalle a entender lo que podria succederle, y porque esto tirava a privacion, y su Santidad hablo claramente della, y se sabe lo que Franceses pretenden, y lo que alegan de bastardia le dixe que el hazer officios paternos, y como vicario de Dios trabajar de reduzilla si era posible, y remediar aquell reyno, que era sancto y justo, y que no podia sino alabar mucho su sancto zelo, y cuydado de la religion ; pero que havia de considerarse mucho el como y quando, y que fuese de modo este oficio que pudiesse aprovechar, y que señaladamente se devia guardar de materia de privacion por agora, y de no entrar en aquella platica, ni en officios que la obligassen despues por no ser cosa expediente en estos tiempos a la christiandad, y que mirasse a lo que Franceses tiravan y lo que a Vuestra Magestad y a sus estados de Flandas yva en ello, y a la conservacion de la paz publica, y que no era negocio de tractarle assí facilmente, ni dar oydos a ello ; respondiome que el conocia que yo tenia razon en lo que la representava, y que a ninguna cosa se moveria en el articulo dicho sin consultarla con Vuestra Magestad y con voluntad suya, y que dello me dava su palabra la qual yo tome con que no querria que se le olvidase, aunque no seria justo aqui, por ser la cosa tan notable, e yr lo que va en ella, y assí supplico a Vuestra Magestad me mande avisar de lo que en esto fuere servido.

Tras esto hablando de la persona me dixo su Santidad que havia nombrado para el efecto dicho al Abbad de san Saluto, de que me maraville, y no haviendo lugar de passar adelante en la platica por que entraron Cardenales a tener congregacion hable luego al Cardenal Borromeo para que con todo secreto representasse a su Santidad (como lo hizo) que haviendo de embiar persona, convernia que fuese de mas authoridad, y credito que el dicho Abbad, y que ultra desto seria el susodicho muy odioso a la Reyna, y otras gentes por haver sido criado del Cardenal Polo, y muy intimo suyo, y porque alla y aca se sabe que es mas Frances que Piamontes y que es hombre entre-metido demasiadamente en estas materias sin que le llamen, y finalmente disidente de Vuestra Magestad por cuyo mandado fue

preso en Flandes, y bandido para que no entrase allí ni en ningun estado de Vuestra Magestad por las platicas, y marañas en que andava, y se metia, como es de creer lo harie agora mejor teniendo mas aparejo ; respondiome el Papa con el Cardenal que le pessava de estar tan adelante la cosa, y havelle ya despachado, y que el andaria atentado, y no haria mas de lo que el obispo Quadra le dixese a quien havia de yr remitido, y a Madama, y Obispo de Arras en Flandes, con orden que allí sperase salvo conduto de la Reyna, mayormente que en francia le havian preso, y tractado muy mal replique lo que me parescio, y que si su sanctidad me lo hoviera dicho antes, que yo lo hoviera advertido como lo hazia agora, y que finalmente este no era hombre aproposito, ni de authoridad para una cosa como esta ni Vuestra Magestad se satisfaria dello, de que su Santidad ha venido a estar perplexo, y podria ser que no le embiasse, porque ciertamente su intencion es muy buena, y de no hacer cosa que a Vuestra Magestad pudiesse dar descontento, solo ay el haverse el Papa prendado tanto, y el favor que este abbad terna en los que le han ayudado ; yo alomenos hare buenamente quanto podre para que no vaya, por parescerme que assí conviene al servicio de Dios, y del Papa, y de Vuestra Magestad y si todavia fuere avisare en Flandes e Inglaterra.

De Roma 6 de Mayo 1560.

## APPENDIX 20

*Instructions to the nuncios in Spain. Rome,  
September 17, 1560.*

[Record Office. Roman transcripts, vol. 69. From Vatican Archives, Nunziatura di Germania, IV, f. 40d. Registro di lettere per Spagna.]

A li Monsignori di Terracina et Santa Croce nuntii  
17 Settembre 1560.

Vedendo Nostro Signore ch'il Nuntio ch'andò per passar in Inghilterra ha trovato quel mare piu turbato et piu difficile che non si credeva, rispetto à l'obstinatione de la regina in

non voler lassarlo passare; gli ha fatto scrivere che se ne debba tornar in quà. Però voi doverete tanto piu gagliardamente raccommandare à Sua Maestà quei poveri vescovi, et altri catholici Inglesi incarcerati, et fuorusciti; quelli perche procuri la lor liberatione, et questi perche li ajuti di qualche sussidio da poter vivere.

## APPENDIX 21

*Parpaglia to Morone. Brussels, October 13, 1560.*

[Record Office. Roman transcripts, vol. 69. Vatican Archives. Vat. Lat. 6409, f. 58.]

Ho ricevuto hoggi, et non piu tosto le lettere de li 3 di Settembre, le quali Vostra Signoria Illustrissima et Reverendissima si e dignata scrivermi, et similmente ho havuto la lettera di cambio per li 500 scudi da doversi distribuire a li poveri Inglesi che si trovano in queste parti per il zelo de la religione catolica et sopra tutto haverò in consideratione la sorella del Roffense, la quale si truova nel Isola di Zelanda in un monasterio molto povero, et luoco mal sano, et havendola mandata a visitare li di passati sperando di poterle persuadere di volersi mutare di luoco, et di venir in queste parti di qua del mare, ma no l'ha voluto fare, per non abandonar la compagnia di otto altre monache Inglesi, le quali sono venute con essa lei, et per ben che la Maestà del Re Catolico gli habbi assegnato venti scudi di provisione per ognuna di loro ogni anno, nondimeno difficilmente puono conseguire il pagamento se non con grande dilatatione di tempo, per la strettezza del danaro, che al presente e qua, essendo stato necessario di provedere a le paghe de li tre mila spagnuoli li quali hora sono stati licenciati, et pagati intieramente. Impero questa pocca soventione, la qual si mandarà al detto monasterio, sarà molto a proposito. Et perche penso di dovermi regulare in questa distributione de li 500 scudi sicome mi sarà consigliato da

Maistro Mauritio, Dottore Inglese, che venne et sta qua con me, et col conseglie anchora di un decano Inglese molto huomo da bene, il qual si truova a Lovania, et scriverò che venghi qua, per questo non posso per hora dar conto a Vostra Signoria Illustrissima di quello che si farò [*sic*] intorno a cio, ma con le sequenti mie gliene darò pur chiaro ragguglio.

Da Monsignore Illustrissimo Borromeo per lettere de li xxi di Settembre et di commissione di Nostro Signore mi è scritto ch' io debbi ritornare a Roma, et cosi penso di poter partire di qua a li xxii di questo, et andarò per le poste et farò la via di Francia ove parlerò con Monsignore il contestabile et con il Cardinale di Loreno per saper piu particolarmente ch' io potrò il stato de le cose di quel Regno.

*[Here follow references to French affairs.]*

Quello che me resta dire, per conto de li Vescovi et altri carcerati in Inghilterra e che sempre le ho fatto intendere quanto Nostro Signore habbi a cuore la liberatione loro e li continui officii che si fanno per poterli giovare, et quanto Vostra Signoria Illustrissima sia ardente nel procurare ogni loro beneficio appresso di Sua Santita et di tutti li Principi confidenti a quella Regina. La qual cosa loro è stata di molta consolatione, et non mancaro di farli sapere che Sua Santita mi ha rivocato impero che la mia residentia qua era piu tosto giudicata dannosa che utile a la liberatione loro, ma che da Roma si fara l' istessa diligentia, la quale si sarebbe fatta qua, et vedro di lasciarli piu consolati che potrò, per che non vorrei che par la mia partita di qua mettessero la liberatione loro per disperata, et non posso creder che Nostro Signore Iddio li mantenghi viva quella perseveranza che li ha dato ne la vera religione se non che per volerne fare qualche notabile esempio a la Christianta.

Bruselles li xiii d' Ottobre MDLX.

## APPENDIX 22

*Chamberlain to Cecil. Spain, September 6, 1560.*

[Cambridge University Library. MS. Mm. iii. 8, p. 51.]

It is here thought of soche as doe not let to make discourse upon estate that your Majestie woll not refuse to send to the generall counsaill: which the Pope, themperour, this kyng, and the ffrenche king ar ernestlie bent to assemble oute of hande seming rather to stay your opinion in religion upon the same being generall they saye then upon the judgement of a fewe perticulier learnyd men of your owne Realme the matter being so weighte and they let not to cast perrilles judging more troble towardes your majestie if you sholde make refusall to sende to such a counsell as this is ment to be and stande to the determinacion of the same. I am well assuered your Majestie hathe long sins with your most honorable consaile thought upon theis matters, and made your good determinacyon redye for suche purpose. Nevertheles I have thoughte it my duetie to let your Majestie understand opynyons and dyscourses of soche as reside in this court in this case.

## APPENDIX 23

*Report by Helfenstein, imperial ambassador to England. London, March 4, 1560.*

[Vienna. Kaiserlich und Königliches Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv.  
A contemporary, ill-written copy. The original is not extant.]

*After giving an account of a conversation between Elizabeth, de Quadra, and himself, in which Elizabeth had declared her extreme aversion from marriage, Helfenstein proceeds: Cæterum in his ipsis sermonibus quos Serenissima Regina nobiscum contulit, ut solet, interdum miscere seria jocis atque familiarius loqui sic cum dixisset, nolle se existimari votum aliquod nunquam contrahendi matrimonii fecisse; neque nos sane existimamus, inquam, neque alium quenquam hone-*

statis atque publice utilitatis amantem id desyderaturum credimus, tametsi non dubitamus etiam, licet ejusmodi votum Regia Vestra Serenitas fecisset, quin ad augendam Christiani nominis amplitudinem et promovendum commune totius Europe commodum facile posset ab eodem per pontificem vel Reverendum Aquilanum Episcopum liberari et absolvı, cum præsertim ex hoc unius Serenitatis Vestræ connubio non solum Angliæ salus atque perpetua felicitas sed totius etiam Christianæ universitatis pax et constantior tranquillitas pendeat. Ad ea cum perblande risisset, Non sum, inquit, talis aut tam aliena a chatolica religione qualem vel hic dominus Episcopus vel alii multi me existimant, atque utinam totius Christiani nominis universitatem vel hanc saltem insulam meam in religionis negotio concordem atque unanimem reddere possem; facile quidem omnibus probarem quanto id desyderio cupiam, temetsi apud meos etiam ut possimus qū [quando] ut volumus non licet. Quibus sane verbis cum non magnopere alienatam sese a Catholica religione ostenderet, bonā spe esset, inquam, futurum generali hoc concilio, quod et Pontifex Maximus et Cesarea Vestra Majestas omni studio atque conamine promoverent, ut omnis ista de religione conversia [controversia] pie simul ac feliciter componatur. Utinam, inquit illa, tam diu desyderatus ille nobis aliquando dies illucescat, quo toties frustra ceptum bene tandem ac sancte perficiatur Concilium, in quo quidem et celebrando et promovendo quantum usque pietatis vel auxilii in me erit Cesareæ Majestati ac religionis [sic. *Quare* religiosis] principibus christianis nunquam deero.

## APPENDIX 24

(1)

*Philip II to Vargas. Toledo, November 10, 1560.*

[Archivo general de Simancas. Secretaria de Estado. Legajo 891, f. 5.]

Al embaxador Vargas . de Toledo a 10 de Noviembre 1560.  
El Rey.

Tambien direis a Su Santidad que bien se accordara de lo que le hezimos entender por vos que no convenia la yda del

Abbad de Sanct Saluto a Inglaterra por ser en la sazon y coyuntura que yva y que agora con esta occasion de la apercicion del Concilio creemos que sera menester hazer algun officio con la Reyna de Inglaterra y quedamos pensando y mirando sobrelo y le mandaremos avisar por vos de lo que en ello hallaremos ser mas conveniente porque entienda el cuydado que de todo tenemos.

(2)

*Summary of letters from Vargas to Philip II  
of December 7, 11, 15, 22, 1560.*

[*Ibid.* Legajo 886, f. 90.]

Que su Santidad le dixo que queria embiar a Inglaterra al Comendon y dessea que lo que vuestra Magestad le ha de advertir sea luego por que no se quexe la reyna que dexa o tarda de hazer con ella el officio haciendosse con los otros Principes.

## APPENDIX 25

*Philip II to Vargas. Toledo, February 9, 1561.*

[Archivo general de Simancas. Secretaria de Estado. Legajo 891, f. 36.]

Al embaxador Vargas sobre lo de Inglaterra . de Toledo a 9 de hebrero 1561.

Por lo que ultimamente me aveis scripto y instancia que por parte de su Santidad se me ha hecho he entendido lo que dessea su beatitud que en esta occasion de la celebracion del concilio le avisemos de nuestro parescer en lo que deve hazer con la reyna de Inglaterra atento que por lo que le hezimos significar quando os scrivimos a primero de Junio<sup>1</sup> del año passado revoco la yda del abad de sant saluto que avia nombrado para yr a Inglaterra a hazer el oficio que entonces

<sup>1</sup> Gachard, *Correspondance de M. d'Autriche*, I. 206.

entendistes con aquella reyna y aviendo mirado mucho sobrelo y el estado en que estan las cosas de presente y que hoy en dia militan las mismas razones y consideraciones que entonces se apuntaron excepto lo que in aquella carta se dize de la guerra de los franceses y de los fines que se entendia que tenian nos paresce que su Santidad deve dilatar esta diligencia que quiere hacer con la dicha reyna todo el tiempo que sin perjuyzio de su auctoridad lo pudiere diferir hasta ver como se encamina lo del concilio y como concurren en el los otros principes cristianos y se conviene en lo del lugar y en las otras cosas que han de proceder y que entonces sera mas a proposito de hacerse este oficio de parte de su Sanctidad y assi sera bien que vos se lo hagais entender de nuestra parte trayendole a la memoria las razones y consideraciones que se tuvieron y se le representaron quando acordo dembiar al dicho abbad de sanct saluto y entrellas una que no es de poca consideracion es a ssaber en caso que la dicha reyna o no quisiesse admitir el mensage de su Sanctidad o no respondiesse como convenia o por aventura se desacatasse la poca forma que ay de presente para proceder contra ella por la via de la fuerça y que seria poner nueva turbacion en la cristiandad que seria de tan grande inconveniente como podeis considerar estando lo de la religion en francia de la manera que esta con certificar a su Santidad juntamente despues de averle hecho entender esto que quando sea tiempo a proposito para ello como arriba esta dicho no dexaremos de hazer por nuestra parte todo lo que pudieremos conforme al zelo que tenemos al servicio de nuestro señor y a la autoridad de su Sanctidad y dessa sancta silla.

Y desde agora aveis destar prevenido quando se huviere de hazer esta diligencia con la reyna de Inglaterra de tener la mano con su Santidad que la persona que a ello embiare sea tal y de tales calidades que pueda satisfazer y que en ninguna manera sea el abad de sant saluto por las causas que ya teneis entendidas ni persona que tenga otras dependencias sino de solo su Sanctidad por los inconvenientes que dello se podrian seguir.

## APPENDIX 26

*Proposals for the mission of Martinengo and the release of the imprisoned bishops. Rome, circa February, 1561.*

[Record Office. Roman transcripts, vol. 41, f. 126. Vatican Archives.  
Arm. 64, tom. 28, f. 303.]

Super negotio regni Angliæ.

Quoad Tractationem de Religione valde placere ut mittatur aliqua legatio ad Catholicorum consolationem.

Ut agatur cum Domino Roberto, vel tanquam cum marito Reginæ (si tamen certus putetur) vel tanquam cum principali ejus consiliario. Ut ei proponatur indubitatum Reginæ totiusque regni periculum si hoc modo se divisorint a caeteris principibus Christianis. Sed si posset ipsi Reginæ persuadere ut huic generali consilio se summittat, non fore dubitandum quin et ipsa possit secure regnare, et ipse omnium et principum externorum et subditorum suorum animos conciliatus sit. Reginam quidem satis esse ad hoc dispositam, nisi quod quidam novi homines inanem gloriam sectantes ei aliter ad ipsius Reginæ et regni perniciem conentur persuadere. Porro subditorum longe maximam partem catholicam esse. Quare etc. Nam hunc solum Regina ex singulari affectu auditura est.

Si Cecilius intervenerit, dicatur, si uti dux ad divisionem fuit, sic velit esse vel Comes ad introducendam unitatem, posse purgata vetere culpa, novam laudem acquiri. Sin perseveraverit, sciat se reum antiquissimi regni evertendi fore. Nam Reginæ animum non esse a catholicis alieno ; ipsam esse bonæ indolis, et in catholicos valde clementem, plerosque nobiles idem sentire. Denique populum totum et multitudinem istas novitates maxime odisse ; solum ipsum hanc reconcilationem cum paucis impediare.

Si alii nobiles accesserint ut Dominus Guilielmus Havardus et Dominus Clinton et Dominus Comes Pembrukensis, fiat

querela quod pauci homines novi per inanem gloriam nullius rei curam habentes nisi suæ fantasiæ florentissimum regnum evertere sinantur; ita ut cum Regina sit bene affecta, cum nobiles bene dispositi tamen isti pauci regnent et agant in omnibus quod ipsis videatur, convenire nobilium prudentiæ ut honori suo et regni securitati consulant. Quod futurum esse per consensionem et concordiam cum cæteris principibus.

Quod ad liberationem Episcoporum. Si cætera concedantur, tum petatur ut in testimonium suæ submissionis mittat Catholicos Episcopos ad concilium, nec discedat antequam eos et precipuos doctores eduxerit secum.

Sin negentur, tum (ne tota legatio videatur contempta) ut eorum liberatio tantum e carcere petatur, qua re vel tenuiter concessa, dicat se hoc significasse Papæ, nec posse discedere antequam videat liberatos. Postea secreto intimet Archiepiscopo Eboracensi, et paucis aliis precipuis, ut Domino Boxallo, et Vatsono Lincolnensi, seu Alrielbo [*sic. Read Thirlbeo*] Eliensi episcopo quod Sua Sanctitas vellet eos exire e regno: et ut certa hora navis flandrica preparetur ad educendum eos inter Billingsgaret et Grenwick. Nam in eorum salute consistit maxima spes reconciliandi regni.

## APPENDIX 27

*Vargas to Philip II. Rome, March 15, 1561.*

[Archivo general de Simancas. Secretaria de Estado. Legajo 890, f. 29.]

Del embaxador Vargas a 15 de Março 1561.

Tracte con su Santidad lo de la yda a Inglaterra del Abbad Martinengo, para que por agora se suspendiesse, e hize el oficio quan efficazmente pude, y como Vuestra Magestad me lo mando, representandole las causas que havie, de que su Santidad se agravio, diciendo que sperava que Vuestra Magestad le havia de ayudar a ello, y que por esto se havia detenido tanto, y que la cosa estava ya muy adelante, y que haviendo

embiado nuncios a los principes de Germania no era justo dexar de combidar la Reyna al concilio, y haviendole yo replicado a todo y dichole que esta diligencia vernia mejor despues quando el concilio fuese formado, y aun que entonces el mismo concilio la devia hacer conforme al uso que siempre se ha tenido, y quitarse su Santidad de inconvenientes, y repulsas y cosas indignas que podrian succeder, como hasta agora se ha visto en la yda de los nuncios a la Dieta de Namburg dixo que pensaria en ello, lo que succedio es que desde á dos dias por mas justificarse, y parecer que no era solo en ello, junto a Carpi, Moron, Farnes, y sanctaflor como servidores de Vuestra Magestad y despues de havverse confirmado en su determinacion en que siempre se estuvo, quiso que yo entrasse allí y que en mi presencia se notasse, mostrando ciertas letras del nuncio que esta en francia, en que scrive haver entendido de algunos yngleses que la Reyna deseava que se le hiziese este officio con ella como se hazia con otros, lo que yo no puedo creer, y assí se lo dixe al Papa con lo demas que me ocurrio, en fin el resolvio en que luego fuese el dicho abbad derecho a Madama, y que en Inglaterra possase con el Embaxador de vuestra Magestad cinco o seys dias que podria detenerse allí, y que no haria mas de lo que ordenassen y que vuestra Magestad devia screvir luego a Madama porque el Abbad no se detuviesse, y assí se partio ayer, en cuya recomendacion (aunque no quise condescender en la yda) fue necesario scrivir ya que no se podia hacer otra cosa, y por querello assí su Santidad sera bien que vuestra Magestad en rescribiendo esta ordene a Madama lo que fuere servido, a quien ya he dado aviso de lo que passa, y que entretenga lo que buenamente pudiere al Abbad hasta tener letras de Vuestra Magestad lo qual no podra ser mucho segun la comision que lleva, haviendosele ordenado, a lo que me dizen que si viere que le detienen mucho tome otro camino sin sperar mas en Flandes, y passe en Inglaterra porque no le succeda lo que al abbad de san Saluto, quanto a la persona deste Martinengo no me parescio poner dubda por lo que ya tengo scripto a vuestra Magestad y porque sin dubda fuera venir a bozes [voces]

y no hazer fructo y es mejor hazer confiança como de criado y dependiente del Papa, y mirandole a las manos trabajar que se despache luego pues no terna a que detenerse, y con esto el Papa se acabará de satisfazer, y havra hecho una diligencia y gasto bien escusada, y fuera de proposito, el qual jura y afirma que por qualquiera cosa che la Reyna responda no se le dara nada, y que no es mas de hazer este cumplimiento con ella como se haze con otros, y se hara con la de Scotía, y por satisfazer al Emperador que dize se lo ha aconsejado con cuya intervencion quiere combidar tambien al Moscovita, cosa cierto bien escusada como las demas, y que nunca me pluvieron, y de que ningun bien fructo se puede sperar.

## APPENDIX 28

*Philip II to Vargas. Toledo, March 19, 1561.*

[Archivo general de Simancas. Secretaria de Estado. Legajo 891, f. 45.]

Al Embaxador Vargas de Toledo a 19 de Março 1561.

Tambien avemos entendido como su Santidad estava todavia puesto en embarcar a Ynglaterra al Abbad Martinengo, y porque en gran manera convernia que no fuese por agora por algunas cosas de mucha importancia, que se ofresce en aquel Reyno para el bien de la Religion, os encargamos que en recibiendo esta, lo digais a su Santidad, y le pidais y supliqueis de mi parte con toda instancia que sino fuere partido el dicho Abbad mande diferir su partida de ay todo lo que sin nota de la authoridad de su Beatitud se pudiere hazer, Porque si lo que se ofresce sucede (como desseamos y procuramos) avra muy mejor oportunidad para la admision del dicho Abbad, y execucion de su comision y esto aveis de supplicar a su Santidad que sirva para el solo porque assí conviene y si acaso fuesse y partido de ay, conviene mucho que su Santidad le embie luego mandar que no passe de flandes, sino que se detenga, y espere

allí todo el tiempo que a Madama mi hermana y al Cardenal de Arras paresciere, y leaconsejaren que lo deve hazer, que sera segun el estado en que ellos sabran que estuvieren los negocios de Inglaterra, Que yo en conformidad desto, y teniendo por cierto que su Santidad me creera, y lo tendra por bien, he mandado scrivir al Cardenal de Arras lo que conviene, y ha de dezir al dicho Abbad Martinengo para que se detenga, y no dubdamos que lo hara, pues segun nos aveis scripto, su Santidad le embia a el dirigido con orden que se govierte por su parescer y aviso, Pero sera menester que el despacho de su Santidad se embie con toda brevedad, y que vos scrivais al Cardenal de Arras lo que en esto passare, y a mi assimismo con el primero, porque holgare de saberlo, y no avra para que deciros el modo que aveis de tener para tratarlo con su Santidad y persuadirle a ello, pues teniendo vos tan entendido el zelo con que nos movemos á advertirle desto, quedamos bien confiado que lo guiareis como convenga.

*Vargas to Philip II. Rome, April 23, 1561.*

[Archivo general de Simancas. Secretaria de Estado. Legajo 890, f. 41.]

Luego que Recibi la de Vuestra Magestad de 19 del passado, tocante al Abbad Martinengo, hable a su Santidad y mostroso tan regio [recio] en ello, que fue maravilla, diciendo que esto, que se le pedia, para que el Abbad se detuviesse en flandes, era contra su honor, y despues de estar la cosa tan adelante, que sin mucha nota suya, no se podia impedir, ni dilatar, un punto, y que tirava a lo del Abbad Sanct Saluto, y que el no veye causa, que lo pudiesse estorvar, y que fuera justo, que Vuestra Magestad se lo oviera scripto, y que lo del concilio era ya en tales terminos, y la Reyna de Inglaterra desseava tanto esta diligencia, que sin gran verguenza y desonrra suya, no

podia suspenderse esto, mayormente viendo todos lo que passo con Sanct Saluto, y que este Martinengo es ya ydo, respondile a todo como convino, insistiendo que Vuestra Magestad no pidie, que se revocase el Martinengo, sino que se detuviesse en flandes hasta que Madama, y el Cardenal de Arras, les paresciesse, y que devia confiarse de vuestra Magestad, y dalle credito conforme a lo que vuestra Magestad screvia, leyendole, y ponderandole la carta dos o tres veces, y que acabasse de considerar que esta diligencia suya era sin fructo, y sin tiempo, y que el fin todo de vuestra Magestad era el servycio de Dios y desta Santa Sede y encaminar en estas materias lo que convenia, como quien tambien sabie lo de aquel reyno, y tanta parte tenia en el, y vias, por donde se avia de negociar, y que le suplicava, conforme a lo que vuestra Magestad pedia, tractasse esto secretamente y no curasse de hazer junta de los Cardenales que dezia al modo de la vez passada, porque no avia para que, y seria derramar el negocio, y que al cabo no avia mas que su voluntad y que estas juntas servian las mas veces, para dar color a lo que no se queria hazer, quedo de pensallo, pero con la alteracion, que he dicho, y aunque despues le bolvi a hablar, todavia quiso hazer la junta de Carpi, Moron, farnes, y sancta flor, a los quales (segun paresce) hablo, agraviandose de lo que se le pedia, sin explicar enteramente (con la alteracion que tenia) todo lo que Vuestra Magestad dezie sino que yo avia revocado al Abbad Sanct Saluto, y agora queria qu fuese lo mismo de Martinengo y que queria salir con todo, y que esto de agora no se avie de consentir, que seria contra su reputacion, y assi cometio que Carpi me hablase, y dixesse, que no podia en nenguna manera Martinengo detenerse, lo qual el me refirio, y supe por otra via, que en aquella junta no falto quien apuntasse, que Martinengo podria dexar la via de flandes, y passar por francia, en que los demas no quisieron venir, y se lo contradixeran, visto esto embie a dezir a su Santidad que aunque Carpi me havia hablado, yo no me satisfazia en esto ni en otra cosa, de lo que tractava con su Santidad sino con lo que el me dixesse, y que este era mi stilo, para poder yo responder, y dar aviso a

Vuestra Magestad puntualmente, sin andar por relaciones de otros, y que por esto bolveria a hablarle, y que [sic] assí lo hize, y la platica fue de tal manera (en que entraron otras cosas, que no ay para que referir) que su Sanctidad vino a dezirme, que desnudandome de Embaxador, me rogava le diesse consejo en esto, respondile como fue menester, y que su Santidad haria gran yerro en no condescender en esto, que Vuestra Magestad le pedia, pues era cosa tan justa, y facil y encaminada para el servycio de Dios, lo qual visto resolvio, que lo queria hacer por contentar a Vuestra Magestad, con demandarme la palabra que yo tuviesse secreto aca, no queriendo, que el Cardenal, ni otra persona lo entendiesse, por su honor, y desta manera, el dia siguiente su Santidad en presencia del Cardenal Borromeo, y mia, scrivio una letra de mano de su Secretario Ptholomeo al Martinengo, en que le mandava que no aviendo salido de aquellos stados de Flandes, se detuviesse en ellos, hasta que el le ordenasse otra cosa, salvo si Madama y el Cardenal de Arras no le dixessen, que prosiguiesse su viage, que en tal caso queria que hiziesse, lo que le dixessen, y ordenassen, y que esto lo tuviesse secreto, finziendo estar indisposto, o usando de otras dissimulaciones, como le pareciesse, besele los pies por ello, y quede de dar quenta a Vuestra Magestad y luego en 12 del presente con el ordinario de flandes screvi a Madama, y al Cardenal, y embie la carta de su Santidad que a no ofrescersse aquella comodidad, hiziera correo expresso, y avisde de lo que tengo dicho, y del secreto, sera bien que Vuestra Magestad embie las gracias a su Santidad (que le paresce haver hecho una grandissima cosa y cierto yo pense que nunca viniera en ello) pero porque esto se podra alterar, y sostenello assí a la larga, seria dificultoso, converna, que Vuestra Magestad lo mande proveer y satisfacer en alguna manera a su Santidad si es posible, de las causas que para esta dilacion han movido, y screvir luego sobre ello. . . .

de Roma 23 de Abril 1561.

## APPENDIX 30

*Brief of Pius IV to Elizabeth. Rome,  
March 4, 1561.*

[Archives générales de Belgique. Papiers d'État. Négociations d'Angleterre, tome III. An incorrect, nineteenth-century, copy is in British Museum, Add. MS. 28173 A, f. 484.]

Charissimæ in Christo filiæ nostræ Elizabethæ reginæ Angliæ illustri. Charissima etc. pastoralis officii sollicitudine suscepta, videntes non sine animi dolore et merore gravissimo, oves æterni illius pastoris sanguine redemptas, ab ovili dominico abductas et dispersas miserandum in modum errare: Cœpimus in eam curam et cogitationem statim incumbere; quem ad modum eas colligere et ad ovile reducere possemus. Ad eas vero colligendas et morbos quicumque curationem indigerent, sanandos necesse esse intelleximus veteri Ecclesiæ more atque instituto œcumenicum et generale concilium congregare, quod piorum omnium votis semper expetitum et a nobis ipsis cum minore officio fungeremur, optatum fuisset. cum autem eorum principum quorum oportuit, consilio prius exquisito, placere eis Tridentinam civitatem videremus; in ea civitate concilium celebrandum indiximus; sicut Serenitas Tua jam, ut credimus, audivit et cognoscet et<sup>1</sup> ex litterarum exemplo, per quas illud indiximus, sicut cæteros autem reges et principes per litteras ac nuntios hortati sumus et monuimus ut ad concilium oratores quisque suos, ut mos est, mittant; sic te quoque opportuno jam tempore hortandam et rogandam esse duximus. Cujus rei causa misimus ad te dedita opera dilectum hunc filium Hieronimum Martinengum abbatem Leonensem, prelatum nostrum domesticum nobili genere ortum, ob virtutem, fidem et probitatem suam nobis valde acceptum, datis ei ad Serenitatem tuam ejusmodi mandatis, ex quibus pius erga te animum cognoscere nostrum poteris. quo circa Serenitatem tuam hortamur, monemus et coram domino obtestamur, ut adjuvare pro tua parte velis studium hoc nostrum

<sup>1</sup> This 'et' seems superfluous.

restituendæ populo Christiano pristinæ unitatis atque concordiæ, et consulendi saluti tantæ multitudinis animarum, quæ propter hæreses et schismata perierunt, oratoribus idoneis viris ad Concilium sicut Christianam Reginam decet ea mente mittendis ut quæ in eo fuerint decreta et statuta suscipias et teneas, et in regno tuo suscipi, tenerique præcipias. Indicet tibi dominus cor nostrum. Quam paterno animo, quam sinceramente quanto salutis tuæ studio te ad unitatem matris ecclesiæ revocare cupiamus: non tua, sed te ipsam, ad populorum regni tui salutem quaerentes: parati, si ad Ecclesiæ gremium, sicut non diffidimus, redire volueris, te tanquam desideratissimam filiam præcipua quadam charitate recipere, et omnibus in rebus, quæ vel ad regiam dignitatem tuam, vel ad populorum istius regni quietem et pacem pertinebunt; indulgentia prosequi et benignitate paterna, sicut pluribus verbis nuntius noster tibi exponet. quem ut benigne excipias, attente audias, fidem ejus orationi perinde ac si nos ipsos audires, ut habeas, et cum optato responso ad nos remittas Serenitatem tuam rogamus. Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum etc. die IIII martii 1561 anno secundo.

Ant. Florebello Lavellinus.

## APPENDIX 31

*De Quadra to Philip II. London, May 1, 1561.*

[British Museum. Add. MS. 26056 A (Froude transcripts), f. 138.]

A los caballeros de la orden que aqui se juntaron a la fiesta de San Jorge les propuso el Conde de Sussex el casamiento de Milord Roberto con la Reyna persuadiendoles a que todos juntos le propusiesen. Montague y Norfolk y Arundel replicaron que no les parecia que debian proponer a ninguno en particular sino suplicarle que se casase sin decir con quien asi lo hicieron lo que ella les respondio fue que pues que tanto la

apretaban a que se casase ella procuraria de persuadirse a ello pero que les advertia que no habia de casarse a satisfaccion ni a gusto de nadie sino al suyo solo.

### APPENDIX 32

*Report of the meeting of the privy council  
on May 1, 1561.*

[Record Office. Roman transcripts, vol. 41, f. 4. From Vatican Archives, Arm. 64, tom. 28, f. 335. The document is undated, but internal evidence, viz. a reference to the burning of St. Paul's Cathedral, which occurred on June 4, fixes its date as about June, 1561.]

Pro rebus Angliae.

1. De nuntio apostolico, cum Regina in utramlibet partem paratam se fingens, consiliarios etiam longo intervallo disjunctos convocasset. Custos sigilli publici qui cum Cecilio moderatur et regit omnia, ita rem proposuit, ut diceret, se non videre quemquam posse absque manifesto crimine laesae majestatis huic nuncio admittendo suffragium praebere: quo solo nomine laesae majestatis effecit, ut cum valde multi audiri nuncium cuperent voce tamen omnium consentiente repelleretur.

### APPENDIX 33

*De Quadra to Vargas. London, May 12, 1561.*

[Vienna, Kaiserlich und Königliches Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv. Romana, fasc. 14. Enclosure to a letter dated June 7, 1561, from Arco, the Imperial ambassador at Rome.]

Por cartas del obispo Alvaro de la Quadra da Londra de 12 di Mayo 1561. arribaron aqui en Roma a 4 de Junio.

Que esta Reyna no ha querido dexar entrar en la Isla

al Abad Martinengo Nuncio de Su Santidad diciendo que era contra las leyes de su Reyno y contra la quietud y seguridad del. Quisieran estenderse a tratar conforme a sus openiones algunas otras cosas con menos respecto como suelen, però dexaronlo de hacer visto que yo les pudiera responder de la misma manera. Tan poco tome dellos respuesta por escrito pareciendome que no era necesario no haviendoles yo pidido sino solo salvoconduto para un Nuncio di Su Santidad Enfin se ha intendido que estos de aqui como los de Alemania no quieren Concilio si no de palabras y hacer el mundo de nuevo, si pudieran. Han prendido estos dias multos catholicos y entrè ellos algunas personas principales, opponentes que oyen missa, que trataban conspiraciones contra la Reyna, y de un cierto clero dizen que pensava matarla con hechicerias però todo es ayre, si no es lo de la misa la qual oyrian en este Reyno muchos si pudiessen. Dios lo remedie.

## APPENDIX 34

*Borromeo to Commendone. Rome, October 25, 1561.*

[Record Office. Roman transcripts, vol. 69. From Vatican Archives,  
Lettere de' Principi, vol. 22, f. 308.]

Sopra la lettera del Re di Suetia; Sua Santità ha fatta matura consideratione: et si risolve à credere ch'egli habbia pocà voglia d'ascoltarvi. Però non doverete più corrergli dietro, se già col passar vostro in Inghilterra non foste più che certo di poter far frutto non solo col Rè, ma con quella Regina ancora, il che ci pare impossibile: onde se à la ricevuta di questa, non ne sarete più che chiaro, Sua Santità dice che non stiate più aspettando altro, ma che ve ne venghiate in Italia.

Di Roma à xxv d'Ottobre MDLXI.

## APPENDIX 35

*Proposals for depriving Elizabeth and transferring the English crown to Mary Queen of Scots. Rome, latter part of 1561.*

[Record Office. Roman transcripts, vol. 41, f. 120. Vatican Archives, Arm. 64, tom. 28, f. 174.]

Esse magnam spem restituendæ religionis in Anglia si hæc, quæ facilia sunt, obseruentur.

Primum ut absolvantur omnes Angli et Hiberni ab obedientia Elizabethæ et potest hæc absolutio non tantum in aliis vicinis Angliæ locis, verum et in Hibernia publicari et in Scotia.

Secundum ut titulus reginæ Scotiæ quem habet ad regnum Angliæ tanquam legitima hæres quam primum publicetur, et per sedem apostolicam confirmetur.

Tertium ut pauci ex Anglis gravissimis qui sunt in his partibus cis mare, noniine episcoporum aut si quo alio nomine placet, mittantur ad reginam Scotiæ, ei tanquam suæ veræ reginæ obedientiam prestituri.

Ex quibus facile creditur secuturum, ut magna pars nobilium statim in Scotiam transeant, cum que Angli septentrionales, ut longissime ab aula et corruptela disjuncti, sint omnes tam nobiles quam plebs valde Catholici, non est dubium quin res ad optatum exitu [sic] perduci possit.

Principium, medium, finis omnium putatur esse ut aliquid agat sedes apostolica, unde intelligent Catholicæ oves se à pastore suo derelictos [sic] non esse. Satis probatum est sub Paulo tertio pontifice maximo, silentium et tolerationem nihil profuisse porro filia patre multo nequior est. fructus bonus ab arbore tam mala non potest expectari. totum amittitur, quicquid in illa dejicienda omittitur.

## APPENDIX 36

*Cardinal Morone to an English correspondent.*

*Rome, July 21, 1561.*

[Record Office. Roman transcripts, vol. 41, f. 40. From Vatican Archives, Arm. 64, tom. 28, f. 96. The letter is not dated and does not bear on its face the name of its writer. Internal evidence shows the writer to have been Cardinal Morone, and the date is given in the reply (Appendix 37). A translation of the greater part is given by Father Phillips, *Extinction of the ancient hierarchy*, 217.]

Pro Anglis.

Protectio et cura Anglorum, quæ mihi a Sanctissimo Domino Nostro demandata est<sup>1</sup> animum meum vellicans his turbulentissimis temporibus, cum Sanctitate sua, quæ de salute Regni illius maxime sollicita est, et cum aliis probis viris qui illud notum habent, colloqui me sæpe compellit, et ea excogitando perquirere, quæ bonis et catholicis consulere possint. Qua de causa, nunc nihil alienum ab officio meo facere me putavi, si ad te virum et pietate et auctoritate inter Anglos præstantem, postquam ad omnes non possum, qui nunc pro Sancta Romana ecclesia carceribus mancipati sunt, has litteras darem; quibus Sanctissimi Domini nostri Pii Papæ quarti animum et pietatem declararem, qua nos omnes Catholicos, et regnum illud prosequitur, eorum salutem et libertatem ex toto corde assidue meditans. Scito igitur in primis nos eum habere summum Pontificem, qui Deo optimo maximo quotidie gratias agat pro magna fidei constantia, quam tot sanctis viris in Anglia ita donare dignatus est, ut ad gloriam nominis sui, et honorem sanctæ matris ecclesiæ, et sedis apostolicæ dignitatem tuendam, non modo se bonis privari, verum etiam carceribus detineri, non sine vitæ periculo patiantur. Pro quorum salute et Regni nullis unquam Sanctitas Sua parcet impensis aut laboribus. Quod si hactenus hoc

<sup>1</sup> This exordium shows the writer to be Cardinal Morone, who was the official protector of England.

aggrederi distulit, et adhuc differt, id ipsorum causa qui carceribus traditi sunt, præcipue factum est; videt enim legationes hujus sanctæ sedis semper illis obfuisse; quare nolle aliquid frustra tentando, magis illis nocere. Si qua autem spes salutis alicunde illuxerit, ut facile evenire potest, illam sanctitas sua non negliget. Quod si illis et cæteris, qui in re præsenti sunt, aliquid remedii huic morbo afferri posse videbitur, et de illo sanctitatem suam certiore fecerint, non tardabit illud arripere, et in hostes Christi et ecclesiæ sanctæ gladios, quibus prævalet, distringere. Interim si qua re indigeant sancti illi episcopi Sanctissimus Dominus Noster pro sua liberalitate et pietate illorum necessitatibus non deerit: nihil enim magis optam [sic. *Read optatum habet*] quam illorum incolumitati, ut dixi, et Regno nobilissimo consulere.

Qua autem ratione fieri possit ut voluntas captivorum episcoporum et vestra ad nos deferatur, vestræ hæc erunt partes; fieri enim posse credimus, ut facile Archiepiscopi Eboracensis exploretur sententia, a qua reliquos non dissensuros putamus. Quare id omni ratione et via vobis procurandum erit, ut et Sanctitati Suæ innotescat curandum: putabat enim illa multum referre ad incolumitatem Angliæ, si Maria Scotorum Regina alicui principi Catolico in matrimonio jungetur, illique ob hanc causam in mentem venerat Carolus Philippi Hispaniarum Regis filius, cui rei Philippus pater non adsentitur. Quare Sanctitas Sua censem illam (nisi quid prudentiæ tuæ aliter videatur) Principi Ferdinando Imperatoris filio esse proponendam; fieri enim sic posset ut Angli vicini Catholici spe presidii propinquai confirmarentur, heretici vero deterrentur [sic], et ab incæpto facile desisterent. Qua in re, et in cæteris omnibus Sanctitati suæ tuam habere sententiam, maxime gratum erit, nec tantum de communibus regni causis quam de tuis propriis certior fieri cupit, paratissima semper sua liberalitate fortunas tuas et aliorum bonorum quantum in se erit juvare: patriæ vestræ est amans; et omnibus Catholicis testatum esse cupit se nemini neque domi, neque foris, nec vincendo, nec exuli, ulla in re quæ ad pastorale suum officium pertineat, defuturam. Interim hortatur vos omnes et te maxime,

qui libertate fruimini ut concaptivos illos, qui pro ecclesia Sancta in Anglia nunc spiritu et corpore Deo famulantur, si qua ratione fieri potest, nomine Sanctitatis suæ salutetis, horteminique naviter in incæpto persistere, recepturos ne dum a Sanctitate Sua, et tota ecclesia mercedem debitam in hoc sæculo, sed ab illo, qui ultra non moritur, et pro nobis crucis tormenta subivit coronam immarcescibilem in vita æterna. Ego quoque pro ea benevolentia, qua semper Reverendissimum et Illustrissimum Cardinalem Polum felicis memoriae prosequutus sum, proque officio protectionis nationis vestræ mihi commissæ (ut dixi) vobis omnibus, et tibi præcipue nobilissime et præstantissime vir quantum in me erit, et publice et privatim nunquam deero. Vale.

*Maurice Clenock to Cardinal Morone. Louvain,  
November 2, 1561.*

[Record Office. Roman transcripts, vol. 41, p. 29. From Vatican Archives, Arm. 64, tom. 28, f. 62. A translation of the greater part of the letter is given by Father Phillips, *op. cit.*, 220.]

Reverendus Mauritius Clenocus Cardinali Morono. Lovanii  
2 Nov. 1561.

Perspectis illis litteris quas tua Amplitudo 21 die Julii Lovanium miserat de iis rebus quæ ad nostram rempublicam pertinebant æquum mihi visum est tuam bonitatem rogare uti non dedigneris responsum alieno calamo accipere; non ejus ad quem litteræ celsitudinis tuæ scriptæ fuerant, propter varias causas quas singularis tua prudentia ponderare ac facile cognoscere potest. Quid autem illi sentirent qui in vinculis detinentur de hiis rebus quarum mentio fiebat a prudentia tua quum nos semel cognoscere frustra tentavissimus, secundo conatu hoc responsum non scripto (nam id nullo modo audebant) sed per nuntium fidelem accepimus;

nihil nimirum esse magis necessarium quam ut efficiatur aliquid quod ruinam fidei orthodoxæ et ecclesiæ catholicæ jam labefactæ impedit, hæresimque pullulantem suffocaret, quæ nunc partim autoritate armata, partim obedientiæ prætextu colorata longius latiusque indies grassatur, non sine magno omnium animarum periculo: quam rem illi videntes imprimis optant ac cupiunt, ut (nulla ipsorum habita ratione) syncere, et quanta celeritate poterit id agatur, quod maxime ad Dei cultum, ac veram ejus religionem promovendam spectare videbitur, dicentes fiat, fiat, fiat, ut crebra iteratione ejusdem verbi ardentissima vota testarentur. Cæterum fusius respondere aut distinctius non audebant, quia nemini licebat eos adire, cui omnia sua consilia in rebus tanti momenti sine periculo aperire possent. Sunt enim sæpe vocati in quæstionem de iis litteris ac occultis nunciis qui ad illos venire putantur. Neque illi arbitrantur esse opus ut ipsi hanc rem copiose explicent; quum totius Regni status et conditio publice ab omnibus cognoscatur, ut nihil sit (ad hoc saltem institutum pertinens) quod ullum hominem, si sit ullius consilii latere possit, qua responsione id plane significare videntur se neque optare neque æquum esse arbitrari utilem aliquam viam aut rationem salubrem in qua reformandæ religionis spes eluceret sua causa impediri aut protrahi. malunt enim cum suorum corporum interitu ad reparandam ecclesiam adhortari, quam hujus vitæ desiderio instaurationem ejus retardare; multoque plus gaudii ac voluptatis ex spe tanti futuri boni quam doloris ex propriis periculis accessurum credunt. Quod autem ad nuptias cum Illustrissimo Ferdinando imperatoris filio contrahendas attinet, non videtur ea responsio illas improbare; Verum id obsecrant atque obtestantur ut in ea re omni studio et diligentia elaboretur, quæ posset illud Regnum ad sanam religionem fidemque revocare, sive id per has nuptias sive alia quacumque ratione fieri queat. Ejus enim negotium nunc agitur, cuius voluntati oīnnes res humanæ postponendæ sunt: id quod Summi pontificis Sanctitas non solum diligenter consideravit, verum etiam accurate perspexit, ut huic satis constare potest, quod tanto studio,

tantaque pietate in hac causa vigilet, ut nullas impensas nimis magnas nullum laborem molestum putet, dummodo ecclesiam quam vulneratam acceperit sanitati antiquæ et dignitati pristinæ restituere valeat. Nunc vero in tanta horum temporum iniquitate, quum fere nulla causa, quæ ad Deum animarumque salutem pertineat felicem successum facile sit habitura, quia a secularibus hominibus variis modis impeditur, nos omnem nostram spem in Sacri Patris Sanctitate, ac tuæ celsitudinis syncera pietate collocamus et speramus insignem illam tuam charitatem qua nos nostrumque regnum semper es prosequutus nunquam ullo consilio vel potentia frangi aut retardari posse, quin aliquid efficiat quo depulsis hæreticorum fluctibus, et impiorum impeditis conatibus ecclesia Dei a ruina vindicetur, et tot animæ alioquin perituræ ab interitu conserventur, hac spe fovemur, atque erigimur omnes, et illi maxime qui vinculis domini constringuntur, postquam ex hac vestri concilii participatione facile perspexerunt quanta cura quantoque studio tum ejus Sanctitas admirabilis tum vestra insignis pietas in hac causa vigilet et laboret, faxit ille cuius beneficio vos in ecclesia principes constituti ut ejus auxilio confirmati columnam veritatis ab erroribus sponsam Christi ab adulteris, vineam Dei a latronibus defendere valeatis atque ubi hujus vitæ cursum ecclesiæ columnis digne peregeritis in cœlo cum beatis apostolis quorum estis successores perpetua benedictione fruamini.

*Summary of the opinions of the imprisoned bishops  
and others. Circa November, 1561.*

[Record Office. Roman transcripts, vol. 41, f. 139. From Vatican Archives, Arm. 64, tom. 28, f. 50.]

Catholici incarcerati maxime autem episcopi, cum certiores redditi essent quæstionis quam illustrissimus Cardinalis Moronus proposuit, videlicet an cum tanto suo periculo severe

procedi vellent a sede apostolica contra Elizabetham Reginam, sine literis in hæc verba responderunt. Ut sine ullo personarum respectu id quam citissime fiat, quod magis justum honestumque videbitur, fiat, fiat, fiat.

Alia omnia de titulo Mariæ Reginæ Scotiæ, de absolutione Anglorum ab obedientia Elizabethæ, deque mittendo legatos ab apostolica sede qui titulum Mariæ confirment, et contra Elizabetham in regno Scotiæ sententiam hujus sedis declarant in eam sententiam scribuntur ut antea sunt tuæ illustrissimæ amplitudini tradita.

Si possent principes factionum in Galliis prius excommunicari, quam per prædicatores scismaticos hæresis nimium spargeretur, eam rem non solum Gallis verum etiam Anglis ipso exemplo valde profuturam.

Dominus Antonius Brunus Vicecomes qui a Regina Maria legatus est ad Apostolicam sedem venit [*sic*], in carcerem nuper conjectus est.<sup>1</sup>

## APPENDIX 39

*Communication made to Philip II by Count Broccardo  
in accordance with verbal instructions of the Pope.  
End of 1561.*

[Archivo general de Simancas. Patronato Real. Legajo 20, f. 29. A copy, taken from a seventeenth-century transcript, is given by Šusta, *Die römische Curie*, I. 274. A summary is given by Hinojosa, *Despachos*, p. 141. The copy in Simancas is the original document presented to Philip II by Broccardo.]

*Endorsed Relatione de la comissione data per Sua Santità  
al Conte Broccardo.*

Non si potrebbe dire quanto Sua Santità spera cavar di frutto et di bene per la Religione catholica da questo Santo

<sup>1</sup> The person referred to is Viscount Montagu, who was committed to prison in October, 1561 (Kervyn, *Rel. pol.* ii. 638). The date of this document must therefore be November, 1561, or thereabouts.

Concilio. Però lo sollecita tanto et desidera di vederlo presto finito così per la già detta cagione come per attendere ad altre cose ch' importano pure al servizio di Dio et di Sua Santa Chiesa et essaltatione et gloria di Vostra Maestà, la quale essaltatione Sua Sanctità le desidera, parendole anzi vedendo certo, che con essa vada congiunta quella de la Chiesa, et che porti seco la quiete et pace universale del Christianesimo. Onde Sua Sanctità m' ha detto che liberamente le scuopra il sincero et candido animo suo et le dica da sua parte, che disegnando di venire all' atto de la privatione de li Regni di Francia et d' Inghilterra, se però non mandaranno al concilio, et non vorranno esser ubedienti, et fedeli a la santa sede apostolica, come devono fare, et portando l' occasione che Sua Santità possa et debba ragionevolmente farlo, secondo la giustitia, disegna di dare il Titulo de detti Regni a la Maestà Vostra et ajutarla appresso con tutte le forze sue. Pregandola che ci voglia far consideratione et veder che corona di gloria le s'appresenta et che felicità sarrebbe la sua se a tanti suoi Regni s' aggiungessero anco quei due, i quali potrebbe a punto dir che Dio gli li mandasse acquistandoli per questa via, come potrebbe esser facilmente vedendo a che mal camino vanno et che mala piega hanno presa detti due Regni. Invitando però Vostra Maestà con paterna affettione et amore ch' in un tanto conquasso et perturbatione de la Christianità, voglia posporre alquanto i piaceri et commodi proprii et volgersi a pensar al rimedio et al nome suo Catholico per servizio di Dio honore et particolar interesso di Vostra Maestà. Et ad un'altra cosa pensa ancora Sua Santità per servizio de Dio et de la Religione Catholica, et essaltatione di Vostra Maestà, cioè che essendo la Maestà Cesaria già vecchia et mortale come ogn' altro huomo, se Dio facesse altro di lei in questo tempo, che l' elezione de l'imperio sta in gran parte in mano de lutherani, et essi elegessero, che Dio ce ne guardi, un' Imperator Lutherano, la Chiesa d' Iddio et tutta la Christianità ne starebbe malissimo et così anderebbe a pericolo d' esser travagliata Vostra Maestà come ogn' altro principe et particolarmente la santa Sede Apostolica, onde pensaria Sua Santità

che fosse bene sinche Dio ci da tempo di aprirci gli occhi, et veder de prevenire et rimediare a questo inconveniente. Et Sua Santità in questo caso mette in consideratione di Vostra Maestà se le paresse di attendere, et vedere di far che Sua Maestà venesse a pigliar la corona, et poscia che a farlo non per altro resta, che per pura impossibilità, la Maestà Vostra l'ajutasse nel far la spesa, et fosse poi lei elletta Re di Romani. Nel che tenga per fermo che Sua Beatitudine non lasciara che far l' unitamente però con Vostra Maestà per servitio della chiesa et suo particolare, se ben bisognasse venire a la privatione degli ellettori heretici, et dar ellettione ad altri, dove fosse piu servitio de Iddio et sodisfattione de la Maestà Vostra dovendosi et potendosi far di ragione et essendo necessario. Et questo s' ha tanto maggiormente da cercare, et far ogni opera perche venghi ad effetto, quanto che Vostra Maestà deve sapere che Monsignor di Vandomo ci aspira et ci attende a tutto suo potere, facendone strettissime prattiche, et havendo in ajuto de li medessimi ellettori col Re di Danemarch et il Regno d' Inghilterra, si che questa non e cosa punto da spretzare, se non fosse mai per altro che per impedir il negotio di Monsignor de Vandomo, il quale s' otenesse il suo desiderio saria troppo grande emulo de Vostra Maestà.

## APPENDIX 40

*Proposals for appointing to bishoprics.  
Circa July, 1561.*

[Record Office. Roman transcripts, vol. 41, f. 122. From Vatican Archives, Arm. 64, tom. 28, f. 341. A summary is given by Brady, *Ecclesiastical Succession*, II. 322. See also Phillips, *Extinction of the Ancient Hierarchy*, 229.]

Episcopi et alii qui detinentur in carceribus.

Episcopi qui detinentur in carcere.

Archiepiscopus Eboracensis qui transferendus esset ad sedem Cantuariensem, quia dignus est primatu in Anglia.

Lincolniensis episcopus qui transferendus esset ad Eboracensem.

Cestrensis transferendus esset ad Dunelmensem.

Londinensis

Batensis

Exoniensis

Vigorniensis

Peterburiensis

Assafensis<sup>1</sup>

Eliensis

omnes in carcere sunt et omnes digni sede sua.

Mortui sunt in carcere Conventriensis, Vintoniensis, et Carleolensis, Assafensis venit Romam. Landaffensis defecit.

Decani qui detinentur in carcere.

1. Henricus Colus decanus divi Pauli apud Londinum dignus Londinensi episcopatu quando vacabit.

2. Joannes Boxollus decanus Vindesorii dignus episcopatu Vintoniensi qui ibi et natus et educatus et in ea ecclesia canonicus fuit et predictor assiduus. Secretarius Reginæ Mariæ vir singularis doctrinæ.

3. Joannes Harpsfildus Decanus Norvicensis et propterea eodem episcopatu dignissimus. Doctor Theologie.

Mortui sunt in carcere Vintoniensis: Exoniensis et Vigoriensis.

Archidiaconi qui detinentur in carcere.

1. Nicolaus Harpsfildus Archidiaconus Cantuariensis, Doctor legum et predictor bonus dignus episcopatu Roffensi.

2. Chedseus archidiaconus Midelsexensis. Doctor Theologiae predictor optimus.

3. Langdalus Archidiaconus Cicestrensis dignissimus eodem episcopatu.

4. Dracottus Archidiaconus in ecclesia Lincolniensi.

5. Marvinus Archidiaconus Surriensis. Fecnamus abbas Vest Monasterii dignus quocumque episcopatu, predictor singularis.

<sup>1</sup> Entered by mistake. Goldwell, of St. Asaph, was in Italy

Insignes presbiteri qui detinentur in carcere.

1. Thomas Hardingus doctor theologiæ prædicator in Ecclesia Sarisburiensi, predictor optimus.

2. Cheduicus Bullokus.

3. Hidus

4. Hillus

5. Rastellus

6. Allinsonus

) theologi ac predicatores boni, cuius generis  
in carcere detinentur pen i numer-  
biles.

Fugerunt ex Cantabrigia plusquam quadraginta scolastici docti, ex Oxonia quæ est Academia, præsides collegiorum in carcere mortui duo, in carcere adhuc vivunt tres; præterea scholastici multi.

Viri catholici et docti citra Mare.

1. Mauritius Clenol doctor legum vir bonus non autem concionator dignus episcopatu Bangoriensi ad quem fuit assignatus.

2. Henricus Joliffus, Decanus Bristolensis vir bonus, non autem concionator potest promoveri ad episcopatum Glocestriensem.

3. Gilbertus Burfordus et bonus et concionator et dignus episcopatu Lictifidiensi, et idoneus concilio generali.

4. Joannes Danister bonus et Predicator optimus dignus episcopatu Sarisburiensi, et idoneus qui veniat ad Concilium.

5. Guilielmus Taileurs, vir bonus et predictor, dignus episcopatu Carleolensi, et ut veniat ad Concilium.

6. Mauritius Chaseus, Cartusianorum prior vir optimus et mediocriter doctus, dignus episcopatu post alios tres.

7. Ricardus Smitheus vir omnium doctissimus sed infamis tum propter alia, tum quod sæpe in Anglia palinodiam cecinit.

8. Egidius Capel vir optimus mediocriter doctus dignus episcopatu in quinto loco.

9. Wrightus præses Baileolensis collegii in Oxonia vir bonus parum doctus.

10. Guilielmus Vils vivissimæ spei propter virtutem et doctrinam nondum triginta annos natus nec presbiter.

Spei mediocris sunt Lovanii supra quadraginta, Parisiis ad minimum decem, Patavii tres, Romæ sex, omnes clerici. plerique presbiteri præter multos laicos.

## APPENDIX 41

*Proposals for sending English ecclesiastics to the council of Trent. Latter part of 1561.*

[Record Office. Roman transcripts, vol. 106, p. 20. From Vatican Archives, Arm. 64, tom. 28, f. 167.]

Nel Regno d' Inghilterra al presente sono ventisette<sup>1</sup> chiese chatedrali delle quali 15 sono vacanti per morte de li Vescovi chatolici li quali erano stati proveduti legitimamente da la sede Apostolica. Altre 12 hano li Vescovi vivi, de li quali 10 ne sono pregioni ne la torre di Londra meramenti [sic] per la fede Catholica et per l'autorita de la sede apostolica à la quale sono risoluti di voler obedire e più tosto patir ogni martirio che riconoscer altro capo ne la Chiesa d' Iddio ch'il Papa. Doi altri Vescovi sono pura [sic] vivi cio è, l'asafense il quale si trova al Concilio di Trento per ordine di Nostro Signore et l' altro Ladavensis il quale si lasso sedur da la Regina d' Ingelterra et obedise a lei, et da lui sono stati consecrati tutti quelli vescovi sysmatici et heretici li quali la Regina ha fatti di propria autorita sua.

A le 15 chiese vacanti per obitum sua Santita si degnara provedere et al presente sarei di parere che si promovessero cinque de li più dotti personagii de li Inglesi catholici che si troano a Lovania et altrove di qua del Mare et che quelli così promossi si facessero venire à Trento per intravenire al general Concilio insieme con il detto Vescovo Asafense che farano il numero di sei et potrano propore è trattare le cose pertinenti

<sup>1</sup> The correct number is 26. The number 27 was probably arrived at by including the Isle of Man. Cf. Phillips, *Extinction of the Ancient Hierarchy*, 212.

a la reduttione del Regno a la vera religione, et li detti cinque si porano promover a le cinque chiese spesificate ne la lista presente che si presentara à Nostro Signore.

La detta Regina oltra li deti 10 Vescovi retiene incarcerati molti theologi dotissimi et di buona fama li quali sono sufficienti per dover esser promossi a li altri Vescovati che vacano e pero non si fara per hora altra promossione che a le cinque chiese specificate nel memoriale.

Dignandosi sua Santita di dar qualche suventione a li Vescovi et altri incarcerati, per conto de la religione crederei che per hora bastassi ordinar che fussero pagati cento scudi il mese in Anversa li quali habbino da distribuirsi per li alimenti per li decti Vescovi, per ordine di maistro Clemente medico Inglese che cosi è stato ricordato quà et questa spesa potrà continuarsi per quel tempo che piacerà à sua Santità sperando che facendosi il general Concilio presto si vedera l'esito ch'hano di haver le cose d'Inghilterra.

Per li 5 Vescovi che hano di venir al Concilio sua Santità si degnara promossi che sarano ordinar che li siano mandati cento scudi per uno per lo loro viaggio et di piu li ordinera una provisione d'uno scudo per uno il giorno tanto che sarano residenti al general Concilio.

Al presente sarano di bisogno otto cento scuti ciò è cinque cento per li cinque Vescovi li quali hano di venir al Concilio et trecento per li Vescovi incarcerati per li alimenti loro di tre mesi.

Tutta questa spesa per uno anno intiero potra importare tre milla scudi et fra decto tempo si vedera quello che operara il general Concilio et la speranza che si po havere de la reduttione di quel Regno d'Inghelterra.

Il frutto il quale si pò sperar di questa spesa sara che li Chatolici del regno d'Inghelterra vedendo che sua Santità ha preso à cuore la reduttione di quel regno a la vera religione piglierano animo et facilmente la Regina sara forzata di mutar pensiero et quando altramenti questo non succedesse havera sua Santità monstrato gran segno di pieta verso quelli tanto dotti et da bene Vescovi li quali sono constanti per la religione nostra et per l'autorità di sua Santita per confusione di tanti

altri heretici che cercano di oprimerli et essendo tutti questi catholici persone di gran dottrina et di vita molto esemplare sono potissima causa di far creder a li altri ignorant che la vera religione è la nostra, et non quella che la regina ha voluto che si osservi in quello Regno.

*Endorsed* All' Illustrissimo Monsignore Cardinale Morone sopra li negotii d' Inghelterra.

## APPENDIX 42

*Cecil to Throgmorton. Westminster.*  
March 24. 1562.

[British Museum. Add. MS. 35831, f. 22.]

Sir, before the return of my Lady your wiffe, the letters that wer sent from you dated the VI of March, gave occasion here to consider of the matter moved to you by the admirall, as you maye perceave by hir Majestes letters. In this matter, such judgment is not in some as it ought to be. I procured that hir Majesty wold make choiss of some counsellors to consider hereupon, and so determyn. hir Majesty did choose the Lord Kepar Bacon Erl Arundell, and Penbrooke Mr Petre, Mason and me. this choise was hir owne and we all agreed, that it cold not be expedient for this realme to send to the Counsell, at the lest not to send in any other sort, than the pryncess protestantes of Germany.

And for that the last yere at the dyett at Naumburgh, it was accorded betwixt hir Majesty and them, that nether part shuld treate of any thyng towchyg the counsell, it was necessary to send to them to understand there intentes, and also indirectly to procure a leage and confederacy betwixt the protestantes for a mutuall defence of the relligion. and nevertheless to gyve comfortable answer by you to the Queen mother. and accordyng to this resolution hir Majesty wryteth to you, and hath secretly sent to Christofor Moundt upon an occasion lately offred to hym by the Duke of Wyrtemberg, at

his retorn from the Guisees at Sabernn to repayre to the sayd Duke, and to fele the intent of hym and his confederates, wherupon hir Majesty meaneth furder to procede, and if the matter so requyre, to send embaxadors into Almayn to conferr with them and to accord ether for going to the Counsell, or for protestyng to it as King Henry the VIII did.

The Duke of Wyrtenberg, spake with Christopher Mondt, and inquyred whyther the Queen's Majesty had any bishopp at Trident, seming to mislyke it. Where in dede one Goldwell, a runnagat titular bishopp of St Asaph might be the party. he also demanded whyther the Queen's Majesty wold not publish by wryting the causees of hir refusall to send to the generall counsell. upon theis matters he shall take occasion to treate with the Duke of Wyrtenberg and hath also letters of credett to the Palsgrave, and lantgrave.

Sence the resolution upon these letters your other letters sent by Mr Sommer of the 9 of this month, causeth us to be more ernest in these matters. lykewise this morning came to my handes by a merchant your last letters of the XIIIId. which gyve to me alarme. and it will be this afternoone before I can impart the matter with her Majesty. who I trust will follow your good advise to shew a good countenance towardes the protestauntes. and will lett this french embaxador be animated, and perswaded of hir highnes ernestnes to back and mayntene the Queen Mother with hir protestant faction. I maye not complayne at all tymes of all humors, for though hir Majesty be at some tyme not hasty this waye, yet whan hir Majesty considereth and heareth reason, she is very well disposed, and so almighty God maynteane hir, for if it so might please God, she might at this tyme furder theis matters as much as any person in Christndome can hynder.

I am many wayes evill handled and by such as receave no harme of me. but I can remitt I thank god and so must you also. far ye well from Westminster the 24 of March 1561/2

Yours surely to comand  
W Cecill

## APPENDIX 43

*Opinions of catholics on the question of church attendance.*

[Library of Oscott College. A quarto paper manuscript, unpaged, entitled *An answer to a comfortable advertisement with it [sic] addition written of late to afflicted Catholykes concerninge goinge to churche with protestantes, &c.* It is dated *the x of May.* From internal evidence it was probably written in 1588. At the end are the initials G. C.]

The reverend father in God (saythe he<sup>1</sup>) Mr Doctor Pursley Lord Suffraganne of Hull, & Mr Doctor Langdall that grave and learned priest untyll ther last howers did put in practise more then my advertisement doth alowe. I marvell that Mr advertiser in this place remembred not Mr Thomas Langdall priest & also apostata, for he alsoe & many moe yet livinge in England & in respecte of ther sacred orders of preesthood, may be called reverend fathers, have practised as muche as he speaketh of & more to. and so his assertion might have had some shewe to be a common practise in the realme. but alas for pitye what an hard shifte is this that our comfortour is driven to these straytes to defend his new protestation by the authoritye of Mr Pursleyes imperfections who in deede in the beginninge of the late schisme was exceedinge farre out of the right way & could never be reclaymed perfectlye untyll his deathe, in soe much that ordinarylye he was accompted amongste catholykes of all sortes noe better then a schismatyke & rather thought to be a scandalous newter to the destruction of many simple soules which by his schismaticall actions were seduced & kepte in schisme then to give any good example of christian dutye at all. much more tymorous to incurre the danger of temporall lawes, then forward to doe his dutye to God. And in what case doctor Langdall was at the beginninge it is needlesse to reporte for it is not decent that we revele and publishe our old fathers faultes yet is well knowne that

<sup>1</sup> i.e. the writer's opponent.

after the cominge of ff [father] Campion & ff Persons he was well reclaymed . . . . As for Thomas Langdale the apostata he affyrmēd as many schismaticall old preests doe stylē, that it was not onlye lawfull in these extremitēs to goe to churche without protestation but alsoe to receave the supper of the lorde.

## APPENDIX 44

*Petition of English catholics to the council of Trent.  
Circa June, 1562.*

[Record Office. Roman transcripts, vol. 69. From Vatican Archives,  
Concilio di Trento. Tom. 151, f. 123.]

Scrittura data dall' Ambasciatore di Portugallo ai signori  
Legati el 2 Agosto 1562.

Religione in Anglia mutata et poena prohibita si quis diebus dominicis et festis a templo abstineat interi'dum psalmi et ex utroque testamento lectiones lingua vulgari recitantur, laici multi et Catholici nobiles et Deum timentes partim jam in carcerem [*sic*] agentes partim mox eo conjiciendi amicorum et consanguineorum precibus, admonitionibus et imminentium periculorum metu invitantur ut saltem ea tenus de sententia deduci se permittant ut in templis Protestantium tantisper interesse velint diebus dominicis et aliis festis dum psalmi eorum more lingua vulgari decantari soliti et lectiones ex Bibliis lingua item populari depromptae, nec non conciones quæ ad eorum dogmata approbanda apud populum frequentius habentur, commemorantur et fiunt. Jam qui hucusque nullo modo adduci potuerint ut publicis predictis precibus et concionibus interessent, magnopere edoceri postulant quid iis faciendum sentiant vere pii et docti. Nam si nullo animi periculo aut nulla Dei offensione publico Regni sui decreto parere ac obedire liceat, libenter id fecerint: contra vero si quid in hac re periculum sit salutis suæ aut lesæ divinæ Majestatis quidvis perpeti decreverint potius quam quicquam agere aut omittere unde Deum offensum iri atque

iratum intelligent: hæc quaestio cum multas pias et religiosas conscientias exerceat et conturbet, rogandi istinc omnes per viscera misericordiae et charitatem quam Christus a suis omnibus exigit ut eam palam et dilucide quam primum expediant qua multi in hoc regno implicati torquentur.

Quod hæc charta complectitur nullius nomine singulariter petitur, quia non ad unum aliquem pertinet quod hic petitur, sed ad omnes fere nobiles quos Anglia habet Catholicos, quibus jam multis modis magna auxilii spes effulget si eadem vel Dei vel nobilitatis respectu agere dignabitur cum amicis quos in Concilio habet Tridentino, ut huic questioni quæ totius nobilitatis nomine hue adducta est, responsum maturum et deliberatum accommodetur, et huc commode tuæ dominationis opera preferatur, in quo haud dubie acquiescant perturbatae nunc conscientiae si ex te tam sancto et nobile [sic] patre certiores fieri possint quid Patres Tridentini de hac re judicent, quanquam fortassis tutum non fuerit hanc quæstionem publice in concilio proponi, ne res divulgata nostrorum Protestantium animos exacerbet et aliquibus periculum acceleret, nisi tuæ prudentiæ aliter videatur. Ideo tua prudentia consultius fecerit si ita cum selectis quibusdam hanc causam egerit, ut quod ipsi in hac causa piissimis et doctissimis Theologis consultis significaverint id perinde valeat ac si universi Patres sententias dixissent. Cæterum hoc totum tuæ dominationis judicio ac arbitrio relinquì satis est, ut ipsa quod magis in rem esse prospiciat id libere agat. Qui in Anglia nunc sunt Theologi partim metuunt partim varie respondent: ideo plane omnibus satisfaciat quod te procurante ex Tridento huc respondebitur.

## APPENDIX 45

*The question of church attendance before the council of Trent. August, 1562.*

[*Quæstiones duæ, De Sacris alienis non adeundis &c., 1607, p. 102.*]

Neque quidquam ei [*Parsons' opponent*] adjumenti affert secunda ejus responsio ad horum Doctorum elevandam auth-

ritatem, qua dicit 'non rectè fuisse eis propositam pro statu rerum Anglicanarum Quæstionem'. Nam cùm notorium sit Doctorem Sanderum Reipublicæ Anglicanæ scientissimum, Catholicorum omnium nomine, post editas de Ecclesiis concionibusque adeundis Reginæ Elizabethæ atque Edouardi Regis leges, Quæstionem Concilio proposuisse, coramque universum rei statum, tum ore tenus, tum Scripto etiam explicasse, exile est in re tanta effugium, dicere 'non ritè fuisse Quæstionem propositam'.

## APPENDIX 46

*The opinion of the Trent committee. August, 1562.*

[Oscott College. The manuscript entitled *An answer to a comfortable advertisement, &c.*, from which an extract has already been given in Appendix 43, page 289.]

A few daies after I had finished this answer and expected for the oportunitie of a safe carier to bringe it to you, a deare frend of myne sent to me the resolucon of Cardinall Hosius Soto and the other twelve learned divines at the Councell of Trent concerninge goinge to church with protestantes in England. which decision standeth thus in their epistle sent to the nobilitie of Ingland. Minime vobis sine magno scelere divinaque indignatione licere hujusmodi hæreticorum precibus illorumque concionibus interesse. Ac longe multumque præstare quævis vel atrocissima incommoda perpeti, quam profligatissimis, sceleratissimisque ritibus quovis signo consentire cum enim impia lex in animarum exitium lata, & schisma confirmare, & ecclesiæ catholicæ integritatem Romanaque sedis (quæ a Christo summus ecclesiæ suæ vertex in terris est prefinita) nephario convellere & labefactare conatur, quicunque iniquæ legi paret, illam quoad ejus fieri potest, tacita consensione approbat in eamque conspirat, atque ejusdem schismatis particeps est. [An English translation follows.] This is the whole definition and decision of the

learned doctors of Trent. In which you see first, that they say it is in no case lawfull to be present at praiers & sermons of heretikes . . . . And finally that they neither make anie mention of the sworde bearer, nor allow by anie wordes the doinge of anie temporall acte & office in the church at service tyme as our comfortor [*i.e. the writer's opponent*] manie tymes affirmeth. It semeth that our comfortor had not redd this resolucon but reported more then is in it, upon some other mens creditte. As of father Persons who saith that they thought it lawfull to go onelie to do some mere temporall acte which appereth not in this epistle. It is verie likelie that either Doctor Langdall or some others that in favor of some noblemen which by their license and advise practised this, defended it to be lawfull to carrie the sworde before the Queen to her chapell or to beare her traine, her booke & to attend upon her at tyme of service, reported that the doctors of Trente had granted this libertie whereas in dede they had not.

## APPENDIX 47

*De Quadra to Vargas. August 7, 1562.*

[Archivo general de Simancas. Secretaria de Estado. Legajo 815, f. 223. There is a transcript, not quite correct, in British Museum Add. MS. 26056 A, f. 182. A summary of part is given by Maitland, *Collected Papers*, III. 178.]

Obispo Quadra al Embajador Vargas. 7 Agosto 1562.

De parte de los Catolicos deste reyno me ha sido dado el escrito que va con esta por el qual vera Vuestra Señoria lo que demandan. Ha me parecido no embiarle a Trento como ellos piden sino ay para que Vuestra Señoria lo comunique con Su Santidad el qual mandara en ello lo que conviniere teniendo respecto a las circumstancias deste negocio con mejor informacion de la que pueden tener en Trento; lo que (a mi

parecer) se ha de considerar en la decision desta materia es la mucha insolencia y novedad del caso, porque es muy diverso el de aqui de los que comunmente los canones han considerado en esta materia de comunicacion con descomulgados y con hereges ; siendo prohibido aqui por ley el ser Catolico y puestas penas capitales a quien no biviere como herege ; de manera que lo que en otras partes se podria dudar 'si est metus aut coactio' aqui parece que es siempre coaction absoluta ; Tanbien es de considerar que lo que aqui se reza en estas yglesias, que llaman ellos preces comunes, no contiene dottrina falsa ninguna ny cosa impia, porque todo es escrittura o oraciones tomadas de la Iglesia Catolica aunque de algunas han quitado todo lo que haziaencion de meritos y intercession de Santos tal que quitado el pecado de la disimulacion y el daño que se haria con el exemplo el acto de intervenir a esto de su natura no es malo ; la comunion no la hazen sino a las Pascuas y fiestas principales, y desto no se tratta agora ; Solamente demandan si podran estar presentes a este oficio o preces comunes que he dicho ; En la qual materia no he querido yo darles parecer, (aunque me lo han pidido) por no contristar a los unos (condenandoles este acto en el qual han incurido) y por no dar ocasion a otros (que estan aun constantes) a que cedan y aflojen ; Tanbien lo he dexado porque a la verdad me parece que dificilmente se puede dar regla general en esto siendo los casos tan diferentes como lo son las calidades de las personas, y aun las personas mismas, porque ny todos aqui son ygualmente constriñidos a esta Comunicacion, ny todos tienen la misma obligacion a no dar mal exemplo y escandalo aunque no sean sino laycos, ny todos han hecho lo que devian y podian para eximirse desta persecucion resistiendo a la promulgacion desta ley o a la ejecucion della o a lo menos huyendo o como mejor pudieran para poder dezir que vim patiuntur et coguntur absolute ; y assi me ha parecido a los que se han dexado vencer desta persecucion consolarlos extenuando el pecado por no causarles desperacion, y por otra parte a los que estan aun constantes y veo que tienen intencion resistyrr, no he querido extinguirles el espirito que

tienen ny darles ocasion a que aflozen confiados de mis palabras y que comuniquen como lo harian si yo les dixesse que [no] pecavan en ello. He querido advertir a Vuestra Señoria de todo esto porque me parece que tanto para la decision de la question (caso que su Santidad la quiera mandar declarar) como para no decidirla era necesario saberlo y para considerar si es bien tenerlos assi suspensos o no, pero de una manera o de otra seria menester que yo pudiesse mostrar a estos alguna respuesta porque no parezca que lo que a ellos los inquieta y trae desasosegados a nosotros no nos tocca. Tanbien se ofrece que muchos que con effetto han sido hereges y agora no lo son querrian recibir absolucion sacramental de su pecado y no pueden porque ny ay aqui quien tenga facultad para absolverlos ny aunque le huviesse osarian muchos dellos usar della por lo mal que ha sucedido a algunos que aviendo sido presos los clерigos con quien se han confessado y de miedo de los tormentos declarado lo que passa y nombrado los penitentes han padecido mucho daño y trabajo por ello. En esta question aunque he respondido a algunos excusandolos con la necesidad del caso y con la violencia de las leyes y falta de tribunal ministerial de conciencias ellos estan todavia en que consolaria mucho a los buenos y aun despertaria otros a penitencia si se hiziesse alguna declaracion sobresto que fuese como un indulto general de las penas temporales y exteriores y como en lugar de absolucion sacramental para las interiores y espirituales lo qual yo no veo que pueda servir de mucho, ny como pueda hacerse que aliquid addat contritioni a los que no recibieren absolucion sacramental pero piden esto algunos hombres tan dottos y tan buenos que no he podido dexar de escrevirlo aqui para que Vuestra Señoria pueda dar parte dello a Su Santidad con lo de arriba y ver lo que en ello podra hacerse advirtiendo sobre todo el secreto.

Londres 7 Agosto 1562.

## APPENDIX 48

*Opinion of the inquisitors. September, 1562.*

[Archivo general de Simancas. Secretaria de Estado. Legajo 816, f. 7. There is a transcript (with the exception of the last para.) in British Museum Add. MS. 26056 A, f. 185. This is reproduced by Maitland. *Collected Papers*, III. 179.]

Casus est.

Quidam principatus lege et statutis prohibuit sub poenâ capitali ne aliquis sit Catholicus sed omnes vitam hereticam agant et intersint Psalmis, eorum more linguâ vulgari decantandis, et lectionibus ex Bibliis linguâ item populari depromptis nec non concionibus quæ ad eorum dogmata aprobanda apud populum frequentius habentur commemorantur et fiunt.

Qr. (Queritur).

An subditi fideles et Catholici sine periculo damnationis æternæ animæ suæ supradictis interesse possint.

Ad casum respondeatur quod neque vitam Catholicam relinquare nec hereticam ducere neque eorum psalmis lectionibus et concionibus interesse licet. Cum in casu proposito non esset tamen [*sic. Read cum*] hereticis communicare et cum eis participare sed vitam et errores illorum protestari, cum non velint aliam ob causam interesse nisi ut tanquam heretici reputati poenas Catholicis impositas effugiant. Et scriptum est obedire oportet Deo dicenti, qui me erubuerit et meos sermones etc., quam hominibus vitam et ritus Deo et ecclesiæ catolicæ contrarios precipientibus, et eo magis cum nobiles et magnates non sine pusillorum scandalo supradictis interesse possint.

De absolutione vero illorum qui in hæresim lapsi sunt et nunc reconciliari cupiunt videtur remitendum prudentie et discretioni illius qui dubium transmisit, cum sit et doctus et zelosus salvo meliori judicio ita nobis videtur dicendum.

Frater Thomas Manrique sacri palacii magister. Frater Eu-stactius Lucatellus procurator generalis ordinis predicatori [*sic*]

magister. Frater Felix Perettus a Montealto doctor theologiae  
totius ordinis minoris conventionalis procurator generalis.

*Endorsed 'Parecer de los Inquisidores de Roma'.*

## APPENDIX 49

*Brief of Pius IV to de Quadra. Rome,  
October 2, 1562.*

[Archivo general de Simancas. Secretaria de Estado. Legajo 816, f. 6.  
There is a transcript in British Museum Add. MS. 26056 A, f. 184.]

Venerabili fratri Quadræ episcopo Aquilæ . . . Philippi . . . in Anglia oratori.

facultas absolvendi hereticos et reconciliandi ecclesiæ catholicæ.

Pius Papa Quartus.

Venerabilis frater salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. In notitiam nostram a dilecto filio nobili viro Francisco Varga oratore apud nos serenissimi Hispaniarum Regis Catholici perlatum est, non paucos in isto Angliæ regno esse, qui in hæresim antea lapsi, Deo postea mentes eorum pro sua misericordia illuminante, ad ecclesiam catholicam redire desiderant. Quorum nos saluti pro pastorali officio consulere cupientes, fraternitati Tuæ, (cujus de prudentia et charitate ac pio studio plenam in Domino fiduciam obtainemus,) omnes et singulos cujuscumque professionis et ordinis in isto regno commorantes, qui pœnitentia ducti errores et hæreses omnes, in quas inciderant, damnaverint; ac saltem secreto apud te abjuraverint, ab eo crimine, pœnisque, ac censuris, in quas incurrerant absolvendi salutari pœnitentia et satisfactione pro modo culpæ tuo arbitrio injuncta eosque ecclesiæ Catholicæ reconciliandi omni quam ob eam causam contraxerant abolita infamia plenam auctoritate apostolica potestatem tenore presentium damus atque concedimus; licentiam præterea tibi dantes hoc idem

munus aliis in sacerdotali ordine constitutis, Catholicis istius regni, quos aptos et idoneos esse cognoveris, quot et quibus tibi visum fuerit, ex auctoritate nostra modo et potestate simili delegandi. Romæ 2 Octobris 1562.

## APPENDIX 50

*The nuncio Delfino to Cardinal Morone.*

*Innsbruck, June 17, 1563.*

[Record Office. Roman transcripts, vol. 69. From Vatican Archives, Concilio di Trento, vol. 31, f. 13.]

Il vescovo Delfino al Cardinale [Morone]. d'Innspruch  
a li 17 di Giugno 1563.

Io non so cosa la quale habbia mai commosso tanto l'Imperadore quanto il trattarsi hora di privar la Regina d'Inghilterra, et per me stimo la Sua Maestà mai essere per consentirvi, possendo questo gravamente incomodare molti disegni di lei, oltra che non si vede che utile ne sia per ricever la chiesa catholica mi è parso bene avvisar Vostra Signoria Illustrissima di questi humorì, la quale sapperà che vivo secolo quasi in tutto che da Sua Maestà Cesarea non ci verrà quanto al concilio più alcun fastidio, ma penso non s' ha in modo alcuno da provocharla. Facciansi per l'amor di Dio due sessioni per ultimar la matt<sup>a</sup> (materia) de Santi Sacramenti et poi chi si può salvar si salvi, che per mio credere preti et frati principi et privati et in somma ogn'uno desidera che si venga al fine. Ne la bona gracia di Vostra Signoria Illustrissima sempre mi raccomando.

d'Inspruch ali 17 di Giugno 1563.

## APPENDIX 51

*The imperial ambassadors at Trent to the emperor.  
Trent, April 6, 1563.*

[Vienna. Kaiserlich und Königliches Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv.  
Concilacten, V.]

Credimus Majestatem Vestram Sacratissimam intellexisse jam ab eo tempore quo Regina Angliae, quae nunc regnat, illius insulæ imperium habere cœpit, multos catholicos viros, imprimis autem episcopos et minores nonnullos prælatos ob fidei et catholicæ religionis constantem professionem in carceres conjectos esse. Quorum quidem vitæ hactenus parsum est, quod ipsos a sua sententia deduci posse existimaretur. Quoniam vero Deo adjuvante boni illi viri ab initio semper constanter suam fidem tutati sunt neque ullis aut minis aut aliis rationibus in diversum trahi se passi sunt, hoc tempore in maximo discrimine versantur, ita quidem ut plane, nisi Majestas Vestra Sacratissima pro sua in catholicos homines propensione et clementia eos apud Reginam ipsam sua authoritate juverit, non multum post extremo supplitio mulctandi credantur. Ea de re unus Anglus et tres Hibernici episcopi, qui hic in Concilio nunc sunt, nobis memoriale ex literis Cardinalis Granvelæ extractum exhibuerunt, quod nos his literis inclusimus, humilime Majestati Vestræ Sacratissimæ supplicantes, dignetur clementer operam dare, ut præclari isti ac præstantes viri ecclesiæ Dei diutius conserventur ad fidelium utilitatem . . .

Tridento 6 Aprilis MDLXIII

Sacratissimæ Majestatis vestræ humiles servitores  
Sigismundus a Touno.  
Quinqueecclesiensis.

*Enclosure.*

E Lovanio xx<sup>mo</sup> Martii 1563.

Cum jam in parlimento hoc est pontificum, principum et populi concilio, lege sancitum sit, ut quicumque Reginam pro supra dicta gubernatrici Anglicanæ et Hibernicæ ecclesiæ re-

cipere noluerint, læsæ Majestatis rei habeantur, et ut hæc iniqua lex primo die Aprilis incipiat habere vigorem et executioni mandari, nulla amplius relinquitur spes vitæ episcoporum et aliorum catholicorum, illorum maxime qui carceribus sunt inclusi, nisi Deus ex sua infinita bonitate Cæsareæ Majestatis et aliorum christianorum principum corda movere dignabitur, quo pro virili Reginæ persuadeant, ut cum catholice mitius agat. Quod ni fecerit, protestentur se ejus amicos posthac non futuros, et de facto suos ex illo regno revocent oratores. Humiliter igitur supplicamus ut Dominationes Vestræ Illustrissimæ vel suo vel concilii nomine dignentur Cæsareæ Majestati et cæteris christianis principibus persuadere quod ipsi cum illa regina de hac re serio agere non graventur.

## APPENDIX 52

*The legates to the emperor. Trent, April 6, 1563.*

[Vienna. Kaiserlich und Königliches Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv.  
Concilacten, V.]

Sacra Cæsarea Majestas

Renunciatum est nobis, a Regina Angliæ omnibus Regni ordinibus assentientibus legem esse latam, quicumque caput et gubernatricem Anglicanæ et Hibernicæ ecclesiæ eam agnoscere et profitere [*sic*] nollet, ut is reus læsæ Majestatis judicaretur nec poenas tanto crimi debitas effugeret: eamque legem calendis hujus vertentis mensis exequutioni mandari debere. Quoniam vero, si verum est quod dicitur (nam certi adhuc ea de re nihil habemus) extreum discrimen cum episcopis tum aliis viris catholicis, his præscripti qui pridem pro Christi nomine tetris carceribus inclusi detinentur, hac lege lata videtur impendere, petimus a Majestate Vestra, ut pro sua erga Christum pietate miseros istos adjutos et ab eo, in quo summo versantur periculo, velit erutos. Quod quidem hac

ratione fieri posse putant hi, qui Vestræ Majestatis fidem per nos implorari petiverunt, si datis ad reginam literis eam ab hoc tam crudeli facto deterruerit nec quicquam sibi vel cum illa vel cum regno et subditis illius commune deinceps futurum, interminata fuerit, si tam crudeliter in sanctos et pios homines sævire animum induxerit. Quod nos tamen Vestræ Majestatis prudentiæ permittimus. Quæ proculdubio rationes omnes prosequetur, quibus afflictis succurrere queat. Nec pluribus cum ea hac de re agendum putamus; res ipsa per se flagitare satis videtur: et ea sunt viscera christianæ charitatis in Majestate vestra, ut abunde sufficiat eam admonitam esse nec majore aliqua instantia indigeat. Nullum Deo sacrificium gratius poterit quam si sanctorum illorum saluti pro virili sua prospicere conata fuerit. Quod superest Deum precamur ut sacram Majestatem Vestram pro ecclesiæ suæ consolatione quam diutissime salvam et incolumem conservare velit. Cujus nos gratiæ qua summa possumus animorum nostrorum submissione diligenter commendamus. Datum Tridenti die 6 Aprilis anno Domini MDLXIII<sup>o</sup>.

Sacré Caesareæ Majestatis humillimi servitores  
 Stanislaus Cardinalis Varmiensis.  
 Ludovicus Cardinalis Simoneta.

*The Emperor Ferdinand to Queen Elizabeth.  
 Innsbruck, April 12. 1563.*

[Archivo general de Simancas. Secretaria de Estado. Legajo 816.  
 f. 154.]

Ferdinandus etc. Serenissimæ, etc.

Relatum est nobis non obscuris auctoribus a Serenitate vestra et incliti istius regni ordinibus in proximo regni conventu seu parlamento legem latam esse ut quicumque

Serenitatem vestram caput et gubernatricem anglicanæ et hibernie ecclesiæ agnoscere et profiteri nollet is reus lesæ majestatis judicaretur et penas tanto crimini debitas lueret eamque legem die prima hujus vertentis mensis executioni mandatam fuisse, quoniam vero facile colligimus hac lege lata extremum salutis discrimen impendere tum episcopis tum aliis catholicis qui sunt in Serenitatis vestræ regno, iis presertim qui pridem hac de causa tetris carceribus inclusi dicuntur detineri, non possumus profecto pro illis qui habent nobiscum religionem catholicam communem non esse solliciti quin omnino existimavimus nos opere precium facturos esse si apud Serenitatem vestram sororem et consanguineam nostram charissimam pro illis partes nostras interponeremus itaque Serenitatem vestram summo studio benevole cohortamur ne velit in asserenda istius modi lege contra dictos obispos vel alios catolicos gravius quicquam statuere aut illos propterea quod nolint aut non possint salva conscientia id acceptare vel profiteri quod Serenitas vestra postulatura est capitis supplicio aut alia quapiam gravi pena corporis afficere quin potius illos in religione catholica libere ac tuto vivere permittat, vel si ne hoc quoque concedendum putet, saltem illos sicuti alibi fieri assolet tutto ac secure sinat aliorum e regno suo emigrare, ita ut Serenitas vestra in hac parte non videatur clementie et mansuetudinis fines preterire sicuti Serenitatem vestram tanquam reginam sapientissimam atque benignissimam quam hactenus nunquam audivimus tantopere sitire sanguinem christianum aut inclemens suos subditos tractare sedulo curaturam esse nequaquam diffidimus, que profecto si hoc quoque loco sese benignam ostendet, factura est rem sua equenimitate dignissimam, ac nobis et omnibus regibus et Principibus catholicis gratissimam quam Serenitati vestræ omni benevolentiae ac fraterni animi officiis compensare studebimus quam rectissime valere optamus. Datum Insprug 12 Aprilis anno 1563.

## APPENDIX 54

*The Emperor Ferdinand to de Quadra. Innsbruck,  
April 15, 1563.*

[Archivo general de Simancas. Secretaria de Estado. Legajo 816, f. 153.]

Don Fernando Por la gracia de etc. Romanos, Rey de Ungria y bohemia etc.

Reverendo in cristo Padre obispo nuestro caro amigo. A 18 del passado os escrivimos ultimamente ny despues aca hemos recibido otra carta vuestra a que se deva respuesta, aunque la dessearamos tener por bien y particularmente certificarnos de lo que en esse parlamento se tractava cerca de confirmar la Reyna por cabeça suprema de la yglesia de su Reyno so muy graves penas de quien no la quisiesse confessar y reconocer por tal haviendo pero entendido por otras vias no inciertas que esto se haya concluydo y confirmado en el dicho parlamento y que la ley ha comenzado ya de correr del primer dia deste presente mes, y por tanto muy manifiesto peligro a todos los catolicos que biven en ese Reyno, y en especial a los obispos que de algunos años a esta parte estan detenidos en prision no hemos podido assi por la intercession y admonestacion de muchas personas que sienten esto quanto es razon como tambien por nuestro propio zelo y amor de los catolicos y obligacion que de ampararlos y defenderlos tenemos por todas las vias possibles dexar de escrivir a essa Reyna segun por la copia de la carta que con esta os embiamos vereis pidiendole y rogandole con toda instancia quiera usar con los dichos catolicos de su clemencia y misericordia como a una Reyna tan sabia y prudente conviene y permitirles que bivan como hasta qui han bivido sin querer derramar la sangre de tantos justos pues en ellos no se hallara otro crimen por donde puedan merecer la muerte que la nueva ley que les pone contra lo que siempre han professado, y que quando esto no haya lugar por manera

alguna tenga por bien dexarlos salir libres y salvos de su Reyno y yrse a bivir con sus miserias a otros estraños, lo qual todo vos le podreis significar con toda la vehemencia y calor que os fuere possible como ya al principio començastes de hazer assi de parte de su alteza de quien no dudamos terneys ya algun segundo aviso sobre lo mesmo como tambien de la nuestra dandole a entender con las mejores y mas efficaces palabras que sabreis el señalado plazer que en ello nos hara a ambos, y generalmente a todos los catolicos en no usar de semejante rigor como contra los tales ha constituydo y publicado y lo mucho que de lo contrario nos podriamos doler y aun resentir pues allende de todo esto puede ella estar bien desengañada, que ningunos de los catolicos que hastagora han perseverado en su Reyno y antigua religion y mucho menos los perlados que han padecido tantos años dura prision se determinaran venir a aquella obediencia y confession que les pone, sino que antes querran de buena gana morir ya una vez que vivir penando continuamente, como por lo passado, que no dubdo de que viendo la Reyna esta instancia nuestra se moderara algun tanto en el proceder y manera de castigo contra los dichos catolicos.

. . . . .  
de Insprug a 15 de Abril 1563.

Fernando.

## APPENDIX 55

*Philip II to Queen Elizabeth. June 15, 1563.*

[British Museum Add. MS. 26056 A (Froude transcripts), f. 221.  
From Simancas Archives. Secretaria de Estado. Legajo 819, f. 182.]

A la reyna de Inglaterra de Madrid 15 Junio 1563.

Philippus etc. serenissime etc. Cum audiremus superioribus diebus istius regni episcopos et alios qui nobiscum in catholicâ religioni conveniunt carceribus detineri, non potuimus non

dolere quod et Christiana charitas et is amor quem erga suos reges cum in isto regno essemus in ipsis cognovimus id postulare videretur, fuit tamen id minus grave si ad ea conferantur quæ nunc non sine gravi dolore audimus, ipsos a Serenitatis vestræ ministris ad id violenter cogi, ut vel antiquam fidem qua deo sunt astricti abnegare vel vitam amittere debeant quod cum et Serenitatis Vestræ clementia et humanitate indignum nobis visum est, non potuimus nos continere quin eam enixe rogaremus ut oratorem isthic nostrum episcopum Quadram nostro nomine ea de re loquentem audiat eique [perinde] ac nobis ipsis fidem habere velit proque suâ singulari in Deum pietate Episcopis et aliis qui ceptis detinentur ita consulere velit ne quid indignum patientur neve ad ea cogantur quæ illorum mente et conscientiâ salvâ profiteri non possunt Satis enim supplicii perpessi sunt si tetri carceris frena si bonorum ac reddituum suorum abdicatio si gratiæ serenitatis vestræ privatio consideretur. Nobisque in hoc rem tam gratam serenitas vestra factura quam unquam ab eâ quavis alia in re expectare possemus.

## APPENDIX 56

*Borromeo to Crivelli, Nuncio in Spain. Rome,  
September 2, 1563.*

[Record Office. Roman transcripts, vol. 69. From Arch. Vat., Nunt. di Spagna, vol. 39, f. 139 d.]

Al nuntio Crivelli. Roma, 2 Settembre 1563.

La Santita di Nostro Signore ha tanta compassione al misero stato nel quale si trovano li Catolici d'Inghilterra, che quanto maggiori sono le persecutioni che essi patiscono, tanto più si move la Santità Sua à pietà di loro, et à desiderare di sovvenirli, et ajutarli per ogni via possibile. Il che non potendosi far meglio che per mezzo del Serenissimo Re

Catholico Sua Santità dice che la vostra signoria debba à nome suo procurare che quella Maestà si contenti di far opera che quella Regina d' Inghilterra che [sic] vogli concedere che in quel Regno vi sieno Chiese dove li Catholici possino celebrare, et sentire li divini offitii, et la messa, et appresso che liberi horamai quei poveri Vescovi, et altri Catholici che lei tiene prigioni tanto tempo fa per conto de la Religione. L' honestà de la causa è tale che si fa segnalato servitio, et si merita assai con Dio. Et a Sua Santità similmente si da la maggior consolatione che si possa dare. Però io lascerò che Vostra Signoria si estenda in questa parte come a lei parerà, et se vorrà valersi del mezzo del Signor conte di Feria, il quale Sua Beatitudine sa che è molto amorevole, et confidente de li Catolici di quel Regno: la potrà farlo, pigliando da lui quelli ricordi che li parerà. Et potrà anche usare il mezzo di sua Signoria appresso Sua Maestà quando così li paia à proposito. In somma io le raccommando questa cosa di ordine espresso di Sua Beatitudine con la maggior efficacia che posso.

[*The name of the writer of the letter is not given. No doubt it was Cardinal Borromeo.*]

## APPENDIX 57

*Queen Elizabeth to the Emperor Ferdinand.  
Windsor, November 3, 1563.*

[British Museum, Royal MS., 13 B I, f. 97r. A copy, taken from the Vatican Archives (Arm. 64, tom. 28), is among the Roman transcripts in the Record Office, vol. 41, f. 57. The letter is given in part by Camden, who places it under the year 1559. *Annales* (1717), I. 52. A copy with omissions and inaccuracies is given by Strype, *Annals*, I. ii. 47, 573.]

Serenissimo ac Potentissimo Principi Domino fferdinando electo romano Imperatori.

Elizabetha etc. Litteræ Vestrae Majestatis Posonii 24 Sep-

tembris datæ, magnam nobis voluptatem attulerunt; quod ex illis cognovimus, gratum Vestræ Majestati studium nostrum fuisse, quo commoti [*sic*] sumus, ut tantam superioris petitionis vestræ rationem haberemus, quantam natura rei ferebat, quam a nobis eo tempore Majestas Vestra postulavit. Ex quo facto nostro Vestra Majestas facile intelligere potest quam proposita voluntate nos sumus propensæ, ad concedendum ea omnia Vestræ Majestati quæ ulla cum ratione a nobis concedi possunt.

Permagni enim res erat momenti, tam benigne agere cum illis hominibus, qui tam insolenter, palam, contra leges nostras, contra quietem amantium et fidorum nostrorum subditorum, reluctantes sese intentaverant: inter quos hi præcipui etiam sunt, qui regnantibus Patre et fratre nostro, nobilissimis principibus, mente et manu, publice et concionibus, et scriptis, cum ipsi essent, non privati homines, sed publici magistratus, eandem ipsam doctrinam aliis ultro offerebant, quam ipsi nunc tam obstinate rejiciunt. His tamen hominibus nos, ad respectum postulati Vestræ Majestatis nostra quidem gracia sed cum nostrorum sane non levi offensa, pepercimus.

Quod autem Vestra porro Majestas amplius ad huc pro illis intercedit, ut certa templa separatim, singulis in civitatibus designentur, in quibus, tuto, et sine impedimento, divina sua seorsum officia celebrent, hæc quidem postulatio hujusmodi est, et cum tot implicita difficultatibus, ut illi, salva nostra republika, illæso nostro honore atque conscientia, concedere non queamus. causa justa nulla subest, cur ita faceremus. Nos enim et nostri, Deo sint gratiæ, non novas illas, non alienas sectamur religiones, sed eam ipsam, quam jubet Christus, quam sancit et prima et catholica Ecclesia, quam probat vetustissimorum Patrum consentiens mens et vox. Condere vero templa diversis ritibus, preterquam quod aperte pugnat cum edictis supremi nostri Parlamenti, nihil aliud esset, quam serere religionem ex religione, distrahere mentes bonorum, alere studia factiosorum, religionem et rempublicam partibus misere miscere, divina et humana omnia funditus perturbare, in hoc jam quieto statu nostro; id quod esset, re malum, exemplo pessimum,

perniciosum nostris, et illis ipsis, pro quibus intercessum est nec admodum commodum, nec plane tutum.

Et propterea, quemadmodum nos antea, partim ex insita quadam naturæ nostræ clementia atque commoderatione, potissimum vero, ad graciam vestri postulati, paucorum hominum privatam insolentiam, nonnihil connivendo, sanare concupivimus, ita eorundem hominum præfractas mentes, et consimilium vel pares vel projectiores animos, nimium indulgendo, fovere atque alere, nullo modo possumus.

Non dubitamus quin Vestra Majestas hanc animi nostri sententiam atque respositionem recte sit acceptura. Et dolemus quidem vehementer, rogatum vestrum hujusmodi fuisse, cui satisfacere non potuimus: cum in quavis alia re, quæ cum regni nostri salute concedi possit, ad Vestræ Majestatis voluntatem propensas nos et faciles ad quidvis libenter concedendum, nos ipsæ exhibebimus. Deus etc. Windesoræ III Novembbris Anno domini 1563 Regni Vero nostri quinto.

## APPENDIX 58

### *Petition of Sir Richard Shelley, an exile for religion, to Pius V. Circa 1566.*

[Record Office. Roman transcripts, vol. 5. From Vatican MS. 5916, f. 13. The petition is not dated. It states that Shelley had come to Rome because he had seen a letter of Cardinal Reuman, who died in 1566, saying that Pius wished to see him.]

*After criticizing the policy of Pius IV in other directions Shelley blames him for haver pensato che niuno potesse entrare in Inghilterra alla bella prima come Nuntio Apostolico senza haver preparato prima gli animi di certi personaggi potentissimi et molto più haver dato ad un giovane chiamato Sacfilde, ch'era anco stato nell' Inquisizione certi articoli sottoscritti, che si dovevano riservare all' ultimo et non consentire alli scismatici senza humiliissimi prieghi et somma sicurtà della loro coscienza.*

L'offerta dico di quelli articoli gli ha talmente disautorizata et invilita che ha dato (per non dir altro) troppo gran danno alla causa et partorito molto maggior difficolta alla Redutione.

## APPENDIX 59

*The Comendador mayor of Castile, Don Luis de Requesens, to Philip II. Rome, June 2, 1564.*

[Archivo general de Simancas. Secretaria de Estado. Legajo 896, f. 81.]

Pocos dias ha que escrivi a Vuestra Magestad que la platica que antes avia escripto que aquí se avia tenido con Inglaterra, avia parado, y despues aca he entendido, que ha estado aquí dissimulado algunos dias un cavallero Ingles, moço que se llama Thomas Basil, y vino aquí con voz de ver á Italia, y este ha hablado al Papa dos o tres veces en gran secreto, y le ha dicho, que diga a la reyna, que si quiere reduzirse, que no solamente la reintegrara en el titulo de su reyno, del qual ella ha caydo por sus herejias pero que le daria el titulo, y derecho de otros estados muy principales : y que en lo que toca a los bienes de la yglesia que tienen usurpados los seglares de aquel reyno, que se los confirmaria, para que las tuviessen justamente de la manera, que agora los tienen y que en todo lo demas, que el prometia de acomodarse, con el parlamento de aquel reyno, y el Thomas le dixo, que porque a el no se le olvidasse, supplicava a su Santidad se lo diesse por escripto y assí aunque no le firmo de su mano le mando dar esta Instruction escripta del Abbad de Sanct Salucio, que es el que haze aquí los negocios del Duque de Saboya, y es por cuyo medio tuvo el Ingles audiencia, por que este Abbad tiene correspondencia en Inglaterra por aver estado ally algunos años, Despues un gentil hombre que esta aquí, por cuyo medio solia el Papa tener estas intelligencias, se escandalizo mucho con el por parescerle, que se avia alargado demasiado en esta Instrucion,

y assí ha desseado su Sanctidad restringirla un poco por via de interpretacion, y han embiado secretamente á diversas partes de Italia, donde les parecia que devia estar este Thomas Basil, no le han podido hallar. Bien creo que de todos estos designos puede su Beatitud sacar poco fructo, pero he querido escrivirlo, para avisar a Vuestra Magestad de todo lo que passa y para que se vea, que los medios que toma el Papa para reducir a los hereges es condescender en tantas cosas con lo que allí quieren. . . . .

de Roma a 2 de Junio 1564.

## APPENDIX 60

*Gurone Bertano to Antonio Bruschetto.  
Rome, September 5, 1563.*

[Record Office. State papers foreign, Elizabeth, vol. 63, No. 1080.  
Cf. Foreign Cal., 1563, No. 1199, § 2.]

E stato dato un discorso diabolico (quale vi mando) al Papa, il quale per sua natura non vorria veder male a niuno, se non tanto quanto è persuaso da maligni, et tirato per forza, onde lo ha fatto consultar meco dal Cardinale Borromei per esser io intendente di quelle cose, con dirmi veramente che era un bellissimo discorso, et ben ordinato. Io ho lodato la prontezza dell' ingegno di chi l' ha fatto, ma biasmato l' effetto, con dire che non si deve con l' armi pensar d' offendere un Regno che ha fatto per e tempi passati tanti benefici a questa Roma, poi ho superato me stesso a mostrargli che se tutto l' Mondo fosse unito alla distruttione di quel Regno, quanta fatica vi si haverebbe a debellarlo, talmente che ho fatto lor capaci che ne per Religione, ne per termini di Stato, ne di guerra non si deve pensar tal cosa, et massime pendendo il Concilio, si che io sono assicurato che non solo non si tenterà tal malitia, ma ho fatto di sorte che colui che ha fatto il discorso, non haverà piu udienza. Credo que questo discorso sia ancora stato fatto per gratificarsi con Francesi, perche a loro torneria molto

commodo una lega così fatta con la guerra a ruina della mia Serenissima Regina, per la Madre della quale io feci tante fatiche insieme col Cardinale mio fratello che morì, il qual così profondamente et bene scrisse a suo favore, come si possono ancor forse veder e suoi scritti in quel Regno. . . . .

Di Roma alli 6 d'Agosto, ritenuta per buon rispetto sino alli V di Settembre 1563.

*Endorsed Del Signor Gurone.*

## APPENDIX 61

*Sebastian Bruschetto to Gurone Bertano.  
London, December 4, 1564.*

[Archivo general de Simancas. Secretaria de Estado. Legajo 900, f. 198.]

Copia de una letera d'Inghiltera al signor Guron Bertano.

Molto Magnifico signor mio osservantissimo Io ho di bonissimo luoco che Sua Maesta è inclinatissima alla sedia, a tanto che di sua boca ha pur detto, che non vi vede l' hora di farne la demostracione, ma che li tempi non rispondono a questo suo buon animo, et la sforzano di parer quella che non è; è piena di paura, teme essere vista di ricevere pur una letera, che non debba essere comune a tutto il consiglio, la parte contraria mormora assai massime di alcuni segni che non gli vanno a gusto, come del tenere il crucifisso nella sua capella secreta con due lumi di cera dalle bande (quel ch'io afermo di veduta) et che contra di vescovi incarcerati non lascia procedere più oltre. Fù a di passati chiamato a comparire il Vescovo di Londra, la cosa pur è sopita per opera di Sua Eccellenza<sup>1</sup> il quale segretamente favorisce, et parte anchora perche quelli altri comprendono la dispositione di Sua Maesta. Li Catolici abbondano: et si danno a conoscere tuttavia più,

<sup>1</sup> The person referred to here is probably the Earl of Leicester.

ne vi è pericolo pur che non siano molesti con le persuasioni. Si ha di certo che se mai nascesse bisbiglio, come a dire nel parlamento, sua Majesta s'accostrebbe alli buoni. E morto pochi di fa un grande avversario, capo di quelli che favorivan quel libro, cioe Mylorde Giovan Graye<sup>1</sup> et vanno tuttavia mancando li favori alli adherenti, perche si dubita ch'il Cancelliere resterà senza ufficio, et che vi si meterà in suo luoco uno ch'è catolichissimo, se questo riesce al secretario mancarà il braccio destro. Quel che precipuamente voglio dire a vuoustra signoria è che la miglior via di ridurre et di mover gli animi di qua, sono li premii. Le occasioni veranno molto commode, per entrare in queste pratiche, le gia proposte son certo che havranno gran forza. Però per anticipar tempo Vostra Signoria ha da certificarmi quello che si potrà promettere di sicuro, et a quanti, accio poi dovendosi venire alli fatti, si trovino conformi alle promesse. Voglio inferire, che sarebbe a proposito che vuoustra signoria persuadesse a Sua Santita che bisognando altri doni oltre li partiti propositi a sua Majesta a Milor Roberto et al Secretario si promettesse anchora a qualchuno di piu che sariano forse in tre o in quarto. Io giudico che non s'habbia a guardare a qualcosa di piu ove si fa la compera di si bella gioia d'un Regno d'I[ddio] che s'una volta si riduce, mai piu non si è per voltare; troppo gli hanno castigati questi suoi capricci, et se bene alcuno vi è che ha sentito beneficio, nel modo che sa vuoustra Signoria, pur il corpo universale e quello che si duole. Il Signor Tomaso sacvile è restato in Francia et vi si fermerà per uno anno almanco. Altro non vi è qui di novo.

Di Londra alli IIII di Decembre MDLXIII.

Quello ch'io li scrivo, la prego quanto piu posso à tenerlo secreto, id est che non lo comunichi in modo che pervenisse ad orecchie di niuno Inglesse, et per conseguente a noticia d'alcuno di qua, perche quella brigata sono spioni doppii.

<sup>1</sup> See *Dic. Nat. Biog.*, viii (1908), 637.

## APPENDIX 62

*Gurone Bertano to Requesens. Rome,  
January 26, 1565.*

[Archivo general de Simancas. Secretaria de Estado. Legajo 900, f. 3.]

All' Illustrissimo et Eccellenissimo Signor il Signor Comendator Maggior di Castiglia, del consiglio di Stato di Sua Maesta Catolica.

Illustrissimo et Eccellenissimo Signor et Padron mio osservantissimo—La lettera di vostra Eccelentia dell'i 19 Gennaro me ha posto dui sproni nell' animo per esplicarli e mei concetti, et attioni, l' uno perche io cognoscho al sicuro quanto la mi ami et le sian care le cose mie per servitio di Sua Maesta, l' altro perche mi cigna quasi al sicuro la sua partita per Spagna nella quale mi e parso necessario come servitore amorevole ch' io gli sono di dirgli tutto quello que la sentirà in queste due mie lettere, et copia d' Inglitera<sup>1</sup>, si deve adonque racordare Vostra Eccelentia che per due volte gli promessi qui a Roma di fargli sapere tutta la praticha di mano in mano ch' io teneva là in quel Regno con la Regina, Milor Roberto, et Secretario Sicillo, et qui dall' altra parte con Nostro Signore nella qual praticha ne ho tirate lettere del secretario di consenso della Regina, et da Milor Roberto, In laude et grandezza dell'i miei racordi, avertimenti et discorsi quali son stati tanti in uno anno et mezzo che non si possono scrivere a Vostra Eccelentia perche causarian noglia et fastidio, ma la summa e che io mi son sforzato di persuadere loro la grandezza della Regina di qua dal mare l' utile et l' honore et similmente nel Regno come instrutto del lor procedere ho persuasa l' obbedienza, l' utile maggiore assai di quel che ne tra si da populi, come dalli beni di Chiesa mal posseduti, et in summa gli ho mostrati tutti li contenti per l' anima et per il corpo con la unione della Religione Catolica che non puo essere se non una, et a Milor Roberto ho mostrate per questa strada la sua grandezza con

<sup>1</sup> Appendix 61.

l' appoggio del Nostro Re Catolico et con l' obbedienza qui di questa sede, et similmente al secretario sicillo quale e veramente intendente, et savio huomo, se non havessi il cervello volto al male con il quale, ho disputato con lettere con mio grandissimo gusto talmente che con e miei scritti li ho tirati ad amarmi et non solo sentire bene di quanto io gli persuadeva, ma ancora domandarmi de pareri, et consigli sin di la qui, et in summa son venuti tanto avanti meco, che bisogna che Vostra Eccellenzia mi creda, che mi hanno data licentia ch'io gli scriva tutto quello ch' io voglio, si nella religione, come nelle cose de stati pertinenti alle lor voglie a tale che bisogna presupponere che in molte lettere alla Regina che so certo le ha lette, et considerate, et al secretario Sicillo similmente et a Roberto infinite, et a quelli che fano per me gli ho detto tutto quello che si può mai dire et con consenso qui del Papa qual steti gran pezzo a volermi credere hora la cosa e andatta tanto avanti che venero in desiderio non mi potendo haverne me di domandarmi il mio secretario che scriveva sotto di me, il quale e Catolichissimo e buon figliolo, et e nato di Patre Italiano, et la matre Ingresa, che tutti stano nel paese che fa la confidenza maggiore, per il qual nel suo partire mi parve di potere fare un bel tratto, oltra le instrutzioni ch' io gli deti, et discorsi che in prospetiva sono tanti apparenti al vero per la ricuperatione di Cales per rassettare le cose loro con la Fiandra per fare che Roberto habbi la Regina per moglie, poiche l'uno, et l' altro ne ha tanta voglia che sono stati estimati, et tenuti cari, delle qual cose n'hebbe [sic. Read hebbi] longo ragionamento con Tolomei et con il Papa et gli adulci talmente ancor loro che li persuasi a credere che se volevano prometermi alcune cose et dirle al mio giovane ch'io mandava, ch'io sperava qualche bene, fui odito, et mi fu concesso di potere fare quanto odirete, il che in promessa fu 4000 fanti pagati sin nel Regno et piu se bisognaria in caso che la Regina dubitassi di tumulto nel mutare il Regno alla Religione Catolica 30000 escudi per donare al secretario sicillo o ad' altri contrarrii alla detta religione, quattro Cardinali Catolici pero a volonta della Regina et di Roberto a sua nominatione uno, la decima li del Regno a contem-

platione della Regina pro tempore che era di poco emolumento al Papa, ma seria di grandissimo alla Regina accommodare li beni di chiesa con due o tre partiti buoni et honesti nel termine dove si e et ad utile della Regina, et con puoco danno di chi li gode, et utile per le chiese nello avenir talmente che io ottenni che seria longo il dire tutto quello che domandai da Sua Santita Andetli il giovane et e stato ben visto et Milor Roberto l' ha preso al suo servitio, con provisone de 200 escudi l' anno e il vito, come si fa, et per la prima risposta mi ha scritto che le offerte li pareri son piaciuti et crede et spera in Dio che gli accettarano et io lo spero domandandone de gli altri come fanno, et come Vostra Eccellentia potra vedere per la copia de la sua lettera<sup>1</sup>, ch' io li mando, la quale ho mostrata al Papa con grandissimo suo et mio piacere il quale ancor lui e restato vinto del mio procedere et mi ha alargata la mano et mostrato di confidare assai di me et delle mie attioni in questo, che nell' altre cose vi prometto che bisogna navichare con la bussola in mano, basta che mi ha data comission libera di scrivere et promettere tutto quello ch' io voglio che sera da lui osservato inviolabilmente sopra la sua santa fede et non mi mancherà pure che segua la recuperatione del Regno come si conviene, et perche dico che non mi mancherà lo dico perche non prometterò cosa che prima non habbi pensato dove se ne habbi a ritrare il promesso senza danno o puoco discommodo di Sua Santita perche a me pare che questa sia l' arte vera de Negociatori quando vogliono otenire da principi mostrargli o l' utile o puoco suo danno, et grande honore, tutto questo ho voluto dire a Vostra Eccellentia accio quando sera con il suo Re, et che saranno calate le facende maggiori che in forma di spasso gli possi dire tutto questo, si perche se gli potria accendere l' animo ajutare a cosi bella impresa un suo tanto fidele et amorevolissimo servitore levandogli anco di capo quando gli venessi che di questo fatto niuno se ne habbi mai a valere contra la grandezza di Sua Maesta perche io non sono un putto, ne dormo nell' antivedere li servitii li disturbi del mio principe, anzi tutto il contrario sperarò, et a

<sup>1</sup> Appendix 61.

questo camino vo io d'havermene a valere, o per dir meglio che Sua Maestà se ne vaglia a suoi profitti, et se altrimenti cognoscessi Vostra Eccellenzia o Sua Maesta o suo consiglio se ne serò avertito con ragione in due mani de lettere stropiarò ogni cosa, ma veramente non le credo, ne lo vedo caminando io a danni de Francesi, con le persuasioni, et ad utile, et grandezza del mio principe, però Vostra Eccellenzia esorterà Sua Maesta a così degna impresa senza mostrare di havere cosa alcuna di là della quale oltra l'honor di Dio se ne potria trare frutto come si dirà poi ne di mè si ha da dire altro, ne del Papa ne di niuno, ma come da se, et come virtuosamente sò che va facendo il suo honorato imbasciatore Quanto sia profitevole al Nostro Serenissimo Re, il tenersi amici gli Inglesi non bisogna durare fatica a dirlo, pero nelle mie persuasioni gli ho scritto che mai Francesi haveranno caro il Regno alla Religion Catolica, la qual tira drieto l'obbedienza perche vorian quel Regno diviso, et non unito, ma che Sua Maesta Catolica lo voria unito et con obbedienza alla sua Regina, l'ajutare Roberto ad essere Re con la Religione a canto, et che riconoscessi dal Re il suo favore come io gli ho persuaso, che lo cerchi a me par che seria molto a proposito, io non mancharò dal canto mio, et segua poi la volonta di Dio et del nostro Re della quale mi sera gratissimo saperne quello che piacerà alla Sua Maesta Il Signor Benedetto mi stimula ch'io scriva ancor piu, ma in effetto ho piu presto dubbio di noglia, che di contento, però Vostra Eccellenzia piglia il buon' animo, et ogni cosa di questo lo facci tenire secreto, perche mi prejudicaria in ogni parte, come dice ancora il mio giovane nella sua lettera tutto per aviso amorevolmente detto, et non volendo dire altro in ciò si dignarà legere l'altra con tenirme nella sua gratia, et donarmi per servitore al suo et mio Signor et Re con basciargli con ogni riverenza la falda, si come io fò a Vostra Eccellenzia le mani—Di Roma alli 26 di Gennaro 1565. Di Vostra Eccellenzia Humilissimo servitore—Gurone Bertano.

## APPENDIX 63

*Cecil to Gurone Bertano. London,  
April 17, 1565.*

[Archivo general de Simancas. Secretaria de Estado. Legajo 900, f. 20.]

Copia della lettera del Secretario della Regina d' Inghilterra.

Al molto honorato signore Il signore Gurone Bertano. A Roma. Quantunque io non habbia ne scritto a Vostra Signoria ne altresi da quella ricevuto lettere da molto tempo in quà; nondimeno l'affettione, et amore che le prime vostre lettere hanno fatto nascere nell' animo mio verso Vostra Signoria ha pigliato così fatta radice in me, che per diffeto del scrivere, non se ne trova in me punto disinuimento. Questo penso ben' io, che per non havere spesse volte risposto alle vostre, o piu tosto per non havervi procurato quelle risposte, che voi aspettavate, voi vi sete diportato di piu mandare lettere a me. Nella qual cosa io prego Vostra Signoria volere pensare et assicurarvi che in me non e mancata prontezza alcuna di volontà a sodisfarvi. Ma la natura et soggetto della cosa era tale, che per diversi rispetti et cagioni, io non vedeve modo alcuno di seguirla. Pure in qualunche altra cosa, che nel potere mio sia, Vostra Signoria mi troverrà sempre apparecchiato a riconoscere la buona volontà di quella. Così raccomandandole questo gentilhuomo il Signior Claudio portatore della presente il quale si e acquistata qui non poca laude, et stima apresso Sua Maesta et tutta questa Corte, faccio fine, con pregare Dio che ogni vostro desiderio honorato a lieto fine conduca. Di Londra alli 17 d' Aprile 1565. Di Vostra Signoria Affectionatissimo Gulielmo Cecilio.

## APPENDIX 64

*Queen Elizabeth to Gurone Bertano. London,  
April 17, 1565.*

[Archivo general de Simancas. Secretaria de Estado. Legajo 900,  
f. 21.]

Copia della lettera della Regina d' Inghilterra.

Al molto magnifico Signor Gurone Bertano. a Roma.

Habbiamo compreso molto bene, per diverse vie et occasioni, et particolarmente per la buona relattione fattaci dal Signor North nuostro servitore delle molte cortesie per voi fatte a nostri soggetti che capitano costi, et anco per lettere di M. Claudio Corte, il quale sarà l' apportatore di questa, la molta affettione, et buona volunta vostra verso questa corona, et successivamente verso di noi. Per la qual cagione non possiamo fare, che noi ancora non amiamo grandemente voi, et che non desideriamo di fare cosa che sia ad honore, giovemento et contento vostro, si come troverete per opera che faremo con ogni opportunità, che ci si appresenti, et di cio siate sicuro. Li avisi ci dati, si come veggiamo che procedono dalla molta affettione et buon animo vostro verso di noi, così ci sono, et saranno sempre grati, et da noi considerati nel modo che si appartiene, ne determineremo secondo ci parerà convenirsi alla quiete et honore nostro et di questo nostro Regno. Quanto a M. Claudio, et nella professione sua del cavalcare, et in ogni sua attione, egli ci sodisfà benissimo. Hora egli da una volta in Italia, ma pure per ritornarsene in quà. Voi vi prego per severate nella già antica vostra buona voluntà et affettione verso di noi, si come già non dubitiamo che farete. Il Nostro Signore vi prospiri sempre. In Londra all 17 d' Aprile 1565. Desiderosa di farvi piacere—Elizabetta Regina.

## APPENDIX 65

*Gurone Bertano to Requesens. Rome,  
June 4, 1565.*

[Archivo general de Simancas. Secretaria de Estado. Legajo 900, f. 14.]

All' Illustrissimo et Eccellenissimo Signor et patrono mio lo Serenissimo Signor Commendador maggior di Castiglia et del consiglio de Stato de Sua Maesta Catholica.

Illustrissimo et Eccellenissimo mio Signor et patron osservantissimo. Per lettere di Londra delli 28 d' Aprile mi scrive il mio huomo che io mandai che la Regina et il secretario havevano detto di scrivermi per Claudio Cavalcatore che io mandai di là qual parti di Londra alli 19 pur d' Aprile et doverra horamai capitare. Fu qui un Milor de North che io li usai mille cortesie et e gran signore adesso poi che e morto il padre, quale mi ha scritto una littera amorevolissima et non nocera niente al mio negotio per esser favorito della Regina, et similmente Milor Darbi mi ha scritto il quale e catholicissimo et gran signore.

Di Roma Il di 4 de Giugno 1565

Di V. Ecc<sup>a</sup> umilissimo servitore

Gurone Bertano.

## APPENDIX 66

*Gurone Bertano to Requesens. Rome,  
June 22, 1565.*

[Archivo general de Simancas. Secretaria de Estado. Legajo 900, f. 19.]

All' illustrissimo et eccellenissimo Signor et padrone mio. Il Commendador Maggior di Castiglia et del Consiglio di

Stato de Sua Maesta Illustrissimo et eccellenissimo Signor et padrone mio osservantissimo.

La Regina d' Inghilterra mi ha scritto, come Vostra Eccellenzia potra vedere per la copia<sup>1</sup> che io li mando et veramente che per gl' avisi che io ho di là et per lo scrivere, che mi fa ancora il secretario Cicilio come vedrà per la copia<sup>2</sup>, io non disperò d' havere honore di questa impresa. E ben vero che la lettera del Secretario e cauta assai, nondimeno, chi presuppone, che io abbia scrito fra lui et la Regina sino 40 discorsi tutti sopra le cose della Religione, accompagnate con le cose dell Stati et massime del paese, del quale ho piena notitia; dirà come io dico, et massime che se a Sua Maesta Catholica piacerà, mi valerò della grandezza sua, nel modo che Vostra Eccellenza vedra quando risponderò a la Regina, et a Cicilio, et a Roberto che mi ha scritto ancor lui. Ma la sua e lettera di cerimonia. Io manterrò viva questa pratica, et mi faro spero in Dio ogni di più confidente per trarne servitio per il Nostro Serenissimo Re.

Di Roma il di 22 di Giugno 1565

Di Vostra Eccellenzia Humilissimo servitore Gurone Bertano.

## APPENDIX 67

*Sebastian Bruschetto to Gurone Bertano.*

*Westminster, October 8, 1565.*

[Archivo general de Simancas. Seeretaria de Estado. Legajo 900,  
f. 41.]

Copia d' Inghilterra.

Illustre mio Signor osservantissimo.

Io non scrissi a Vostra Signoria per l' ordinario passato perche

<sup>1</sup> Appendix 64.

<sup>2</sup> Appendix 63.

in sul ispedirlo mi bisognò cavalcare infretta alla Corte all' hora discosta 20 miglia da Londra, per dar ricapito alle sue che in quel tempo arrivarono, sopra le quali, et le primieri, et queste ultime del primo di settembre altro non le dico per non saperne il contenuto se non che al Signor Secretario sempre sono state accettissime ne altro v'è di male se non che tardano ogni volta tanto a capitarcì nelle mani. Otto giorni fa quand' io gli presentai queste sue ultime, le piacque conferir meco assai a la lunga sopra Vostra signoria informandosi particolarmente dello stato di quella et tra le altre me ne ragionò in sua lode et commendatione che mi fu carissimo l' ascoltarlo. Quanto al contenuto della lettera questo mi disse, che per essere affari publici quelli di che Vostra Signoria trattava et tali che Sua Maesta non se ne saprebbe risolvere così alla leggiera, si andava piu lento in darle le risposte, et che parte ancora n'era cagione il non sapere se la intendeva latino o no che quando sapessi italiano glien' harebbe scritto un poco piu spesso ; l'essortai a scriverle in latino, perche lo intenderebbe bene et promesse di volerlo fare che e quanto ne segui all' hora. Ho poi ragionato con il Signor Norts [Lord North] il quale mi ha sapputo dire tutti li particolari della mia instruttione et dice haverli havuti da Sua Maesta propria et che al Signor Secretario come per transito et quasi burlando seco e stato accennato non se che sopra quei trenta Mila et tutto per tentarlo et che in fine per suo giudicio Sua Maestà n' ha qualche inclinatione. Dice de piu che a se è stato fatto motto se volesse accetare un viaggio per fino a Roma o vero in Francia, io no sò se in questa parte egli parlasse da serio. Hora quanto alla instruttione, ha piu d' un mese ch' io la mostrai a Sua Eccellentia<sup>1</sup> et intesela volontieri ma risposemi ch' erano cose che spettavano la mutatione di tutto lo stato, et per tanto era impresa molto difficile, et m' impose che in conto nessuno io non la conferisse con altri, sono ben certo che egli l' hara conferita con Sua Maesta che per altra via per quanto io sappia, non la può havere intesa, et poi conferita a M[ilord] North ; questa e la somma di quanto n' ho potuto ritrarre, doppo un longo

<sup>1</sup> The Earl of Leicester.

aspettare, forse che di qui avanti s' intenderà un poco più oltre.

Dalla Corte a Westmestre alli 8 d' Ottobre 1565.

Di Vostra Signoria servitore Seb<sup>o</sup> Bruschetto.

## APPENDIX 68

*Gurone Bertano to Requesens. Rome,  
November 2, 1565.*

[Archivo general de Simancas. Secretaria de Estado. Legajo 900, f. 40, 41.]

Al Illustrissimo et Eccellenissimo mio signore et Patrone osservantissimo il Signor Comendadore maggiore di Castiglia et del Consiglio di Stato di Sua Maesta Catholica.

Illustrissimo et Eccellenissimo mio Signor et Patrone Osservantissimo. Delle molte cose, ch' io ho scritto a Vostra Eccellenzia nel suo star in Italia . . . . io per hora non dirò altro delle cose d' Italia, ma passero in Inghilterra, se ben quel mare e così pericoloso da passare, et le mandarò la copia d' una lettera <sup>1</sup> del mio giovane ch' io mandai là per servitio di Dio, et del Mondo, et ancora per servitio di Sua Maesta et Vostra Eccellenzia creda che in quella instruttione di che lui parla vi è dentro la mutatione del regno, et della religione et il corrompere il Secretario Sicilio con  $\frac{mille}{30}$  escudi che le promette il Papa, et  $\frac{mille}{20}$  à Milor Roberto, et alla Regina due Cardenali del suo Regno; et  $\frac{mille}{4}$  fanti pagati per sei mesi quando temesse sollevatione de popoli nel mutare Religione, et la gratia di S. Maesta Catholica che se bene il Re non me l' ha commandato, ne meno dato intentione sapendo io quanto Sua Maesta sia inclinata al bene l' ho promesso come da me, si che Illustrissimo mio signore havendo io seminato il Signor Dio m' aiutera a

<sup>1</sup> Appendix 67.

ricorglierne il frutto, et Sua Maesta Catholica se le parerà a proposito come a me pare potria et dovria introponersi con la sua authorita per accomodare li dispareri nati frà la Fiandra et il Regno d' Inghilterra.

Insomma se io sarò aiutato da Sua Maesta Catholica com' io tengo per certo che sarò, et massimamente nello stare di Vostra Eccellenzia alla Corte non potrò disperare che non mi possi venir fatto qualche cosa di bene, perche non è cautela ne discorso, ne ragione si di stati come di Religione che io non habbi detto alla Regina, al Secretario et à Milor Roberto.

Di Roma alli 2 di Novembre 1565.

Di Vostra Eccellenzia Humilissimo servitore

Gurone Bertano.



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